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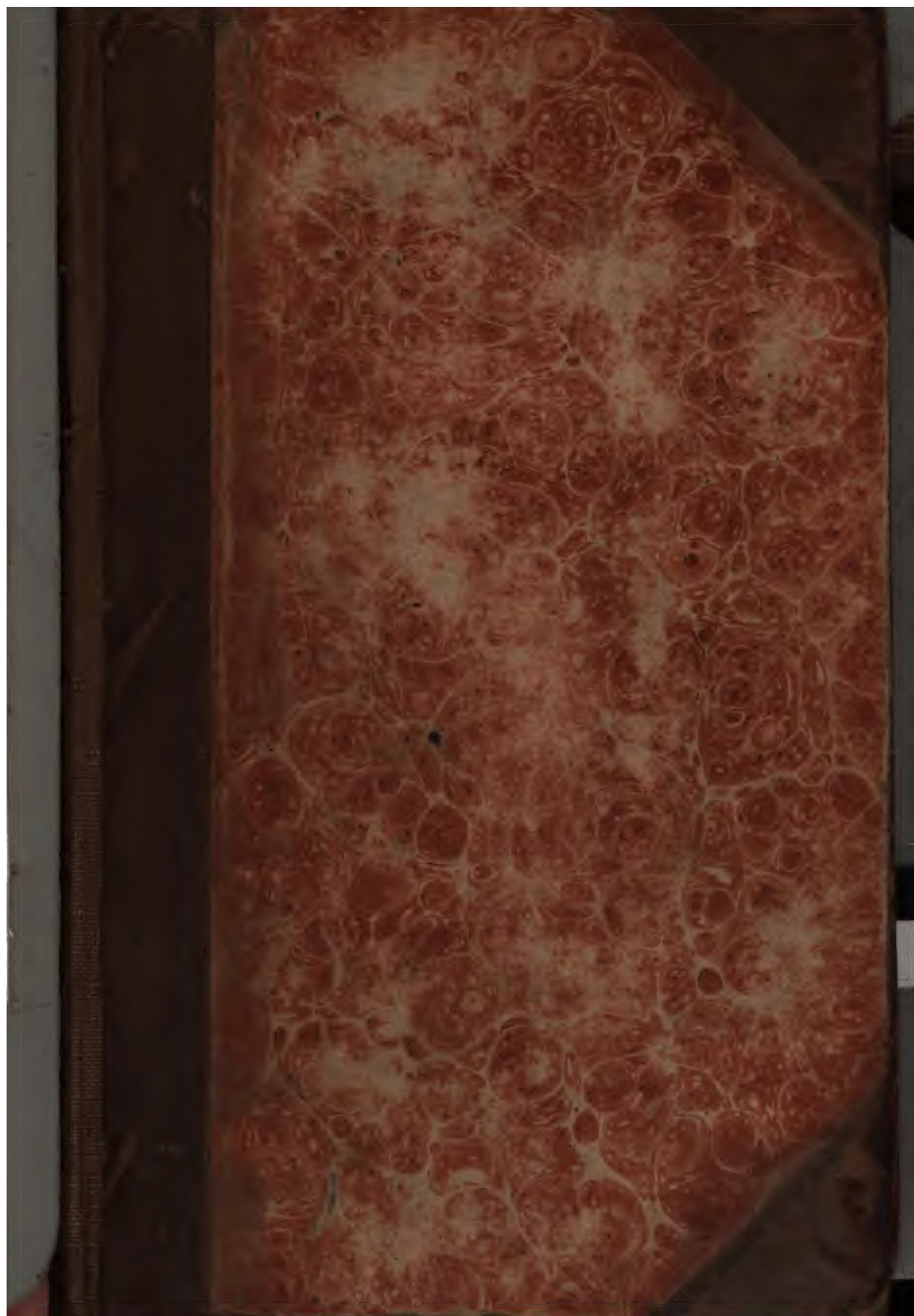
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*S.A. 1827*

# HISTORY

OF THE

## WAR IN THE PENINSULA,

UNDER NAPOLEON;

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

A VIEW OF THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY  
STATE OF THE FOUR BELLIGERENT POWERS.

BY GENERAL FOY.

PUBLISHED BY THE COUNTESS FOY.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

VOL. II.—PART I.



LONDON:

TREUTTEL AND WÜRTZ, TREUTTEL, JUN. AND RICHTER:

SOLD BY

CADELL AND CO. EDINBURGH; JOHN CUMMING, DUBLIN.

1827.  
487.



London:

PRINTED BY S. AND R. BENTLEY, DORSET STREET.

## ADVERTISEMENT.

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**AMONG** the numerous military historical works which have been published in France since the termination of the late war, it has been matter of surprise that no general and complete History of the War in the Peninsula has yet appeared. The subject, however, is one which French military writers may be supposed to approach with some degree of reluctance. The consciousness of the unprincipled causes of its origin, and of the treachery, cruelty, and atrocity, which signalized its commencement and progress, added to the circumstance of its having been the first and main cause of the overthrow of that government, which had elevated their nation to the supremacy of Europe, are sufficient to account for this reluctance. There is no question, however, but that from their situation and opportunities the French officers were in some respects much better enabled than their adversaries to supply that desideratum which still exists, having as yet been only partially supplied by the work of our own distinguished writer, Dr. Southey.

**The work of General Foy, of which a translation is now**

submitted to the English public, supplies this desideratum only to a limited extent. The nine books which properly form the History (included in the second volume of this translation) only embrace the period from the first invasion of Portugal by Junot, to its evacuation by the French army, with the contemporaneous events in Spain.

With the exception of some ebullitions of national feeling at the expense of our own country, (upon which some observations will be made presently,) the work in its preliminary view presents such a body of acute remark and valuable information, and in the narrative part is characterised by such general fairness and clear details of the extraordinary events of the period, as to make it matter of regret that the author did not prosecute his task to a conclusion.

As the reader may feel some curiosity respecting the leading circumstances of the life of this remarkable man, whose celebrity as a popular orator in his latter days has thrown his previous military career almost entirely into the shade, the following short notice will, it is hoped, be acceptable.

Maximilian Sebastian Foy was a native of Ham in Picardy, and born in 1775. He received the first part of his education at the College of Soissons; entered in 1790, into the artillery school of La Fère, and was appointed in 1792 sub-lieutenant in the third regiment of foot artillery. Entering with ardour into the principles of the Revolution, he, at the end of that year, joined the national army. He was present at the battles of Valmy and Jemappes, and in 1793, at the early age of eighteen, had already attained the rank of captain, as a reward for his bravery and military talents. He served in all the subsequent campaigns of the Revolution, under Dumouriez, Pichegru, Moreau, Massena, &c.



In 1803, he was made colonel of the 5th regiment of horse artillery. Shortly after, he refused the offer of being made one of Bonaparte's aid-de-camps, when the latter had abjured his republican principles, and assumed the imperial purple; Foy, however, considered himself bound to sacrifice his political opinions to the interests and tranquillity of his country, and continued his services for its defence. In the capacity of colonel of artillery of the 2d corps, he shared in the short but brilliant campaign in Germany, in 1804. During the year 1806, he commanded the artillery of the French army stationed in the Friuli, for the purpose of occupying the Venetian territory, which, by the treaty of Presburg, was incorporated with the kingdom of Italy.

In 1807, he was sent into Turkey by Napoleon, along with a body of French troops, principally artillerymen, for the purpose of introducing the European tactics into the Turkish service, and enabling that government to co-operate in the Emperor's plans for humbling the power of Russia. But the revolution which overturned the throne of Sultan Selim, and the determination of the Janissaries to resist all innovations on their discipline, compelled him and most of his companions to return to France.

The French expedition against Portugal was then just commencing: he accepted a command in the artillery under General Junot, and while that kingdom was occupied by the French, Foy filled the duties of inspector of the forts and fortresses. After the landing of the English, he commanded the artillery of the reserve at the battle of Vimeiro, in which the French were completely defeated, and Foy was severely wounded. He returned to France with the army, when it evacuated Portugal in pursuance of the Convention of Cintra. The same army was immediately forwarded to Spain, and subsequently placed under

the orders of Marshal Soult, when the French again entered Portugal, after the English had retreated from Corunna. Oporto having offered a vigorous resistance to Soult's attacks, Foy was sent by that officer to summon the bishop to open the gates. This mission had nearly cost him his life. He was seized by the populace, stripped of almost all his clothes, and thrown into a dungeon, from which he made his escape with great difficulty. On the 3d of November 1809, he was appointed general of brigade.

In February, 1810, at the head of 500 foot and 100 horse, he made a skilful retreat, with very little loss, across the Sierra de Cacérès, in Upper Estremadura, in the face of a Spanish corps of upwards of 6000 infantry and cavalry, whom he completely kept at bay. The English army retreated into Portugal, followed by Massena, and only halted to achieve the victory of Busaco; Foy was at the head of his brigade in that battle, and was again severely wounded.

When Lord Wellington took up his memorable stand on the lines of Torres Vedras, from which all Massena's attempts to dispossess him were unavailing, the situation of the French army became so critical from the scarcity of provisions, and the miserable and destitute state of the troops, that Massena felt at last compelled to retreat. He deemed it advisable, however, to communicate his situation to the Emperor, and to solicit from him reinforcements and instructions. He selected General Foy for this mission, which was one attended with no small danger, from his having to traverse a country in a state of complete insurrection. He succeeded, however, in accomplishing it; received the Emperor's instructions, and returned in safety to Massena's army in February, 1811.

He was rewarded for his services on this occasion by the rank of general of division.

He was present at the battle of Salamanca, in July 1812, where his efforts to relieve the fortune of the day were wholly unsuccessful. When the French army retreated, he commanded the rear-guard, and succeeded in repelling the attacks made upon it. On the 10th of August he was sent to the relief of Astorga, then besieged by the Galicians; but he arrived too late, the place having surrendered the day before.

When Lord Wellington raised the siege of Burgos, and again retreated to the Douro, General Foy was one of the generals who hung upon his rear; at Villahoz he made 100 prisoners, and captured two cannon and twenty artillery-waggons. Some days after this, on the 23d of October, he had nearly fallen a victim to a treacherous artifice of the Galician soldiers at Valencia del Duero. They sent him a message, offering to open their gates if he would present himself: he sent one of his aid-de-camps, preceded by a trumpeter, but as soon as he approached the Spanish soldiers discharged their muskets at him. Indignant at this attempt, Foy swore to make them repent it; his troops with their hatchets broke down the gates which had been barricadoed, and stormed the town.

When the news of the disasters of the French army in Russia reached Napoleon's commanders in Spain, they anticipated that it would not be long before the French army in that country would be obliged to effect its retreat, in consequence of the offensive movements of Lord Wellington. General Foy was then sent with his division and some other troops beyond Vittoria, to keep the different parties in check, which infested Biscay and threatened the communications with France. After the



loss of the battle of Vittoria, (at which he was not present,) he collected at Bergara 20,000 troops of different divisions, which were wandering about without direction, and beat successively the different Spanish corps which formed the left wing of the allied army. He arrived at Tolosa about the same time with General Graham (Lord Lynedoch) who was endeavouring to cut off his retreat. After a sanguinary contest in that town, he succeeded in effecting his retreat upon Irun, from which he was also soon dislodged. After sending part of his army to reinforce the garrison of St. Sebastian, he recrossed the Bidassoa, and entered the French territory. The English army followed the French divisions in their retreat, and appeared in the Pyrenees almost as soon as them. Lord Wellington having strictly blockaded Pampeluna and St. Sebastian, since the month of June 1813, determined to besiege these two places, the latter of which was extremely important to him to possess, on account of its port in the Gulf of Gascony. Marshal Soult being shortly after appointed by Napoleon commander-in-chief of the armies in Spain, with unlimited powers, determined to make a bold effort to compel the English to raise the siege of these two places, and to drive them back from the French frontiers. For that purpose he collected several divisions at St. Jean de Luz, of which General Foy's formed part of the right wing. The result of these operations was the battle of Cubiry, in which the French were again discomfited with great slaughter: and the fortresses of Pampeluna and St. Sebastian were obliged to capitulate shortly after. Lord Wellington then proceeded to attack the French army in the Pyrenees within their own frontiers. On the 10th of November he attacked the French troops in their lines, and after a san-

guinary action, in which Foy's division had for a moment the ascendancy, gained a complete victory. In the affair of the passage of the Nive, on the 9th of December, and the battle of St. Pierre d'Irube on the 13th, in which the English were again the victors, Foy greatly distinguished himself. In the hard-fought battle of Orthez, on the 27th of February, 1814, Foy was again at the head of his division, and received a wound so severe that it was at first judged to be mortal.

He had been created Count of the Empire by Napoleon, and Commander of the Legion of Honour. After the restoration of the Bourbons, he was, in March 1815, appointed Inspector-general of Infantry in the 14th Military Division. On the return of Napoleon, during the hundred days, he embraced the cause of the Emperor, and commanded one of the infantry divisions at the battles of Ligny and Waterloo; at the last of which he received his fifteenth wound. This closed his military career.

In 1819 he attained the rank of lieutenant-general, and was in that year elected a member of the French Chamber of Deputies for the department of the Aisne, the duties of which he continued to discharge till his death in November, 1825. From his very first entrance into the Chamber, his powers as an orator placed him at the head of the liberal opposition, and since the commencement of the Revolution, no man has ever acquired a stronger ascendancy over public opinion in France. No one certainly ever died more regretted; and the manner in which our neighbours have expressed their sense of his merits and public services, by the liberal provision they have made for his destitute family, does equal honour to their national feelings and to the memory of the patriotic orator.

General Foy himself intended to have published an English translation of his work at the same time with the original; he employed a gentleman for that purpose,\* who translated the first three books (of the History) in 1817, and the fourth book in the beginning of 1818. His intention appears originally to have published the work in volumes, in order to anticipate Dr. Southey's History, then known to be preparing; but the circumstances stated in Madame Foy's Preface led to its suspension, and finally to its abandonment.

To the enquirer after historical truth, it is at all times of importance to be acquainted with the statements given by adverse parties, of transactions in which they were both actors, and it is the duty of the historian to sift and weigh their conflicting testimony, and fairly state the result. General Foy stood in a different situation from Dr. Southey, the first having been an actor in, while the other is only a narrator of the scenes which are represented in their respective pages. The difference of country and profession is sufficient to account for their different manner of viewing the same events, where there is no dispute about the facts. This is not the place to enter into a discussion of the merits of the two works, which assuredly afford matter for very interesting comparison. The cursory examination of the first volume of Dr.

\* Mr. T. O. Churchill, of Ashby-street, London; from whom the information has been derived. It is right to state that no part of the present translation has been made by him. Mr. Churchill remarks, with reference to what the Countess says of the work never having been finally revised by the General, that as it is scarcely probable that he would have had it translated into English before the French had undergone a final revision for the press, it may be presumed that he considered himself as having put the last hand to these four books at least.



Southey's History, which the translator was led to make during the progress of the present work through the press, has produced an impression in the highest degree favourable, of the historian's general accuracy and fidelity. It is the more necessary to state this, as it has been the fashion among the French military writers, to treat his work as a mere compound of romance and of national and political prejudices.

Independently of the boastful ebullitions of national feeling, which are more conspicuous in the first part of the work (especially in the first and second books, treating of the French and English armies,) such sentiments appear so inherent in every French military work of the present day, that it would be a waste of time to notice or refute them. General Foy appears to have drank as deeply as most of his countrymen of the cup of such illusions. But there are two points in his book to which all Englishmen must take strong exception, as detracting from the gravity and impartiality of an historian. The first relates to the charge which General Foy has brought nakedly, without note or comment, against the Government of England, of having in one instance sent hired assassins into France to kill Bonaparte; and, in another of having paid for the assassination of Paul I. Such grave charges as these ought never to be brought forward against any Government but on the clearest evidence. When they were first promulgated by Napoleon, they were immediately disavowed in the strongest manner by Mr. Addington, who was then at the head of the Government, and Napoleon was dared to the proof: but as no such proof was ever given, it would have been but fair in the historian to give the English Ministry the benefit of their disavowal. Mr. Addington's words, on the occasion of Lord Mor-

peth's appeal to him, on the subject of Drake's Correspondence, were, "I thank the noble lord for giving me an opportunity to repel, openly and courageously, one of the most gross and most atrocious calumnies ever fabricated in one civilized nation to the prejudice of another. I affirm, in my own name, as well as that of my colleagues, that no instructions or authority inconsistent with the rights of independent nations, or with the established laws by which civilized nations are bound, have been given to any minister, or to any individual, by his Majesty's Government."

Such calumnious imputations could only find credence, in times when the feelings of the great mass of the people of both countries were exceedingly inflamed against each other; and with the press completely enslaved, or at his command, all over the Continent, Bonaparte had an immense advantage over his English adversaries, and found it an easy matter to make the French nation believe every falsehood which it suited his interest or his policy to give currency to. The remains of impressions communicated at that time, are still distinctly visible in the productions of many of the French writers of the present day. If General Foy had been alive, we should have felt inclined to address him in the words of Mr. Fox to Bonaparte himself in 1802, when the latter ventured to make a similar charge against Mr. Windham,—"Clear your head of all that nonsense!"

The second relates to the criticisms made upon the Duke of Wellington's system of tactics and military reputation. Nothing said in this book can, in the slightest degree, affect either the one or the other, in the opinion of His Grace's countrymen. General Foy's remarks savour too much of the time they were written, when the feelings of

himself and his comrades were still sore and rankling from the sense of recent defeat and humbled national pride. In their exclusive admiration of a system of tactics which so long a course of success as that of Napoleon naturally inspired, the French authors can see no merit in that of a rival. The perfection of modern war with them is "to collect a numerous army in the shortest space of time, and with the least incumbrances, to fall rapidly upon the enemy—intimidate him by a sudden appearance—threaten his communications—attack him with impetuosity—beat him; pursue him without relaxing, or giving him time to recover himself, and march straight to his capital." But they forget that to give this system its full effect, Napoleon, the great master of the art, from whose practice these maxims are derived, required constantly a million of men at his beck, the sacrifice of whose lives, in his calculations, was regarded with as much indifference as the consumption of gunpowder; and that, with all these means at command, with the ablest commanders and the most devoted followers that conqueror ever had, the system failed, from being tried once too often. To this system, be it remembered, Lord Wellington's tactics gave the first effectual check, as well as its death-blow. In less than six years' time, and as General Poy admits, with a British army which never exceeded 50,000 men, Lord Wellington successively baffled and defeated all the French generals that were sent against him, drove their armies out of the Peninsula, and only closed his victorious career under the walls of Toulouse. In that space of time, also, he roused the dormant spirits of the Portuguese and Spaniards, (who had, till he appeared, been driven from the field by the French, like chaff before the wind,) inspired them with courage, with a generous emulation of his own



troops, with confidence in him as their leader, and finally associated them as partners in his victories.

Last of all, when it was his fortune to measure his strength with the Great Captain of the age, his confidence in himself and his troops, and theirs in him, remained unshaken. General Foy's own words may tell the tale of Waterloo:—"Death was before them and in their ranks; disgrace in their rear. In this terrible situation, neither the bullets of the Imperial Guard, discharged almost point-blank, nor the victorious cavalry of France, could make the least impression on the immovable British infantry. One might have been almost tempted to fancy that it had rooted itself in the ground, but for the majestic movement which its battalions commenced some minutes after sunset, at the moment when the approach of the Prussian army apprized Wellington, that—thanks to numbers, thanks to the force of inert resistance, and as a reward for having contrived to draw up brave fellows in battle,—he had just achieved the most decisive victory of our age."

It is a matter of extreme indifference to the present generation or to posterity, by what name our ancient adversaries may choose to designate the qualities which have ensured their opponent's triumph, or by what subterfuges they may seek to palliate to the world and to their own feelings the sense of defeat. The victories themselves cannot be gainsayed or disputed. SPAIN and PORTUGAL, and WATERLOO, are the columns—the *monumenta perennia facti*—of England's and of Wellington's glory.

It is satisfactory also to know, if General Foy's opinion be considered of any weight, that the same causes which secured the triumphs of England under Marlborough and Wellington still exist, and will continue, with increased advantages, (see vol. i. p. 218,) to produce similar effects

in the event of any future contest between the two countries, which may God long avert !

One word more. General Foy, in his eagerness to lay hold of any circumstance that can detract from the Duke of Wellington's merits, has committed a strange oversight in his account of the battle of Vimeiro, which it is rather difficult to account for. He states, that after the French had been defeated in all their attacks, Sir Harry Burrard, who came up during the action, approved of every thing that Sir A. Wellesley had done, and gave him full powers to improve the victory as he thought proper ; and he imputes it as matter of blame to Sir Arthur, that he did not immediately commence the pursuit, and endeavour to cut off the French retreat. Now, if any one circumstance connected with that battle is more notorious than another, it is that Sir A. Wellesley did actually propose to pursue the enemy, and that Sir Harry Burrard, considering it inexpedient, from his deficiency in cavalry and the enemy's superiority in that force, overruled it. The proceedings of the Board of Inquiry, which were published at the time, and all the contemporary and subsequent accounts, afford the clearest evidence of the fact, so that it appears quite inconceivable how he should have overlooked it.

*London, September, 1827.*

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# **BOOK I.**

## **THE INVASION OF PORTUGAL.**

The Corps of Observation of the Gironde assembled at Bayonne—Junot appointed Commander-in-Chief—Negotiations between France and Portugal—Feelings of the Prince Regent of Portugal, and of his Government—Treaty of Fontainebleau, between Spain and France—The French Army, intended to invade Portugal, passes through Spain—Preparations of the Spaniards to concur in executing the Treaty of Fontainebleau—Description of the Portuguese Frontier, between the Douro and the Tagus—The French Army enters Portugal—Particulars of its march—Arrival at Abrantes—Perplexity of the Court of Lisbon—The Ports of the kingdom shut against English Vessels—An English Squadron appears at the Mouth of the Tagus—The Prince Regent resolves to transfer his Court and Government to Brazil—Embarkation of the Royal Family—Perturbation of the People—The French enter Lisbon—Reflections on the Expedition.

## BOOK I.

### THE INVASION OF PORTUGAL.

PEACE was signed at Tilsit, between France and Russia, and between France and Prussia. The Emperor Napoleon re-entered his capital in triumph. Satiated with battles, the people hailed the pacificator with grateful acclamations. But England was not yet subdued, and nothing but a treaty with England could ensure the duration of peace on the Continent.

In the course of the month of August, in the year 1807, an army of twenty-five thousand men was assembled at Bayonne. It was called the Corps of Observation of the Gironde. Under this modest name, and with this defensive semblance, the French troops had once before, in 1801, crossed the Pyrenees, traversed Spain, and imposed a burthensome capitulation on Portugal. The Gironde Corps of Observation was not formed at the expense of the French armies of Germany, Poland, or Italy. It



was made up of troops which had been left in the interior to guard the Norman and Breton coasts; namely, the seventieth and eighty-sixth regiments of infantry, two regiments which, not having been engaged in the last campaigns of the Emperor, contained a great number of old soldiers; several third battalions, which were composed only of raw troops; Swiss battalions; and two legions, one of Piedmontese, the other of Hanoverians. The battalions were from a thousand to twelve hundred strong. The cavalry consisted of fourth squadrons, supplied by the conscription of the current year, and embodied in temporary regiments. In this organization, the men, the horses, the dresses, the equipments, every thing was new, except the officers, non-commissioned officers, and four horsemen in each company, who were the only persons that had seen actual service. Fifty pieces of field-artillery were assigned to this army. As the battalions of the artillery train were all employed on foreign service, the Government, in order to provide draught-horses, had recourse to a contractor, whom it entrusted with soldiers, and who engaged to supply horses furnished with all that was necessary to take the field.

France had no longer an enemy on the Continent, yet an army was assembling at the foot of the Pyrenees. If there could have been any doubt in the public mind as to the destination of this army, it must have been removed on hearing the name of



the general to whom the Emperor had confided the command.

In the first war of the Revolution, the colonel of artillery, Bonaparte, was constructing a battery before Toulon, which treason had put into the hands of foreign armies. Having occasion to give on the ground orders which could not be transmitted verbally, a young serjeant, of the second battalion of the Côte d'Or, came forward to write from his dictation. The ships and bomb-vessels of the English and Spaniards, crowded in the lesser road of Toulon, kept up a heavy fire, to retard the establishing of the battery. A bomb fell near enough to Bonaparte and his secretary to cover them with earth and gravel. "That's just the thing," said the latter, turning the page; "I wanted some sand to dry my paper." The secretary of Charles XII. did not exhibit the same calm intrepidity as the serjeant of the Côte d'Or.\* Bonaparte asked him his name. It was

\* One day as Charles XII., while besieged in Stralsund, was dictating to a secretary letters to be sent to Sweden, a bomb fell on the house, penetrated through the roof, and burst close to the king's room. Half the ceiling was broken in; but the closet, in which the king was dictating, being partly formed in a thick wall, was not injured, nor did any of the splinters fly in, though the door was open. On hearing the explosion of the bomb, and the crash of the house, which seemed to be coming down upon them, the pen dropped from the hand of the secretary. "What is the matter?" said the King coolly, "why don't you write on?" He could only reply—"Oh! Sire, the bomb!"

Junot. He had received a liberal education. After the capture of Toulon, Bonaparte was raised to the rank of brigadier-general. Junot, whom he made his aid-de-camp, fought, prospered, and grew great, by the side of the man with whom he first became acquainted amidst the shower of shot and shells. Colonel-general of hussars, grand-officer of the empire, governor of Paris, he was likewise aid-de-camp of the Emperor Napoleon, and he was much prouder of that title than of all his other employments and dignities.

In the beginning of 1805, Junot was sent ambassador to Portugal: but a few months, however, elapsed subsequent to his arrival at Lisbon, when war broke out between Austria and France. The aid-de-camp ambassador asked and obtained permission to quit for a time his pacific mission, and flew to resume his warlike occupation. He travelled seven hundred leagues in less than twenty days, and was fortunate enough to reach the bivouac of Austerlitz the night before the battle. After the peace of Presburg he did not return to Portugal, though he continued to be ambassador to the Court of Lisbon. The Emperor nominated General Junot to the command-in-chief of the Corps of Observation of the Gironde, and placed at the head of his

"Well!" said the monarch, "What has the bomb to do with the letter that I am dictating? Proceed."—*Voltaire's History of Charles XII.*

staff Brigadier-general Thiebault, author of some valuable works on the service of the general and divisional staffs.

Junot joined the army early in the month of September, and reviewed the troops. The first division of infantry, under General Delaborde, was at Bayonne. The second division, which was to be led by General Loison, occupied St. Jean de Luz and the neighbouring villages on the Spanish frontier. The corps composing the third division, under General Travot, arrived at Navarreins and St. Jean de Pied de Port. The cavalry, commanded by the general of division, Kellerman, was cantoned on the Gaves, towards Pau and Oleron, and on the Adour, towards Aire and Castelnau. The general-officers and the commanders of corps disciplined the young soldiers, exercised the old, and were actively engaged in collecting the means of marching and of fighting. The artillery, which was under the direction of Brigadier-general Taviel, was brought into order, and rendered fit for rapid service. Colonel Vincent, who was the superintendent of engineers at Bayonne, was attached to the army, together with other officers of his corps, drawn from the garrisons of this frontier. Troussel, the intendant-commissary, was made commissary-in-chief. No magazines, or convoys of provisions were formed, but a train of military equipages, and a certain number of military commissaries were appointed to



## 8 MEASURES OF FRANCE AGAINST ENGLAND.

march with the troops, to establish an administrative system when the proper time should arrive. Merchants, the major part of them of that class of speculators who carry on commerce with more industry than capital, flocked from all quarters, to follow an army destined to invade the country of diamonds and of gold.

While the titular ambassador from the Emperor of the French to the Prince Regent of Portugal was getting every thing in readiness at Bayonne, for a military aggression upon that kingdom, the chief secretary of the embassy, M. de Rayneval, who was chargé-d'affaires in his absence, began the diplomatic attack at Lisbon. On the 12th of August he delivered to the Portuguese government the injunction to declare immediate war against England, to confiscate English property, and to arrest, as hostages, such British subjects as were settled in Portugal.\* The Count del Campo-de-Alange, ambassador from the King of Spain, presented at the same time a note, which, though less imperative in its manner, was equally threatening in its matter. The representatives of the two great powers declared, that, in the event of the Court of Portugal refusing to enter heartily and thoroughly into the Continental league against the oppressors of the sea, they had

\* See Notes and Illustrations, No. I. at the end of this Volume.

orders to demand their passports, and to depart, after having declared war.

Such were the conditions dictated by force, in contempt of a treaty of neutrality, which, six years before, had been dearly bought by weakness. In days of yore, the Sophi of Persia sent to require tribute from the governor of Portuguese India. Alphonso d'Albuquerque ordered powder, bullets, and halberds to be brought to the Persian envoy: "This," said he, "is the money in which the Portuguese pay tribute."

In the nineteenth century the time was gone by, when a small state could hold this lofty language. Yet Portugal had still its fiery-spirited population, the ramparts of its fortresses, its mountains, its rocks, and its remote position at the extremity of Europe. Its army was disciplined, and the supplies from Brazil continued to enrich private fortunes and the public treasury. A small number of patriots, among whom was the Marquis d'Alorne, did not despair of their country. They said to the government:—"Let us arm our coasts; let us exclude from our ports the British navy; and, if it must be so, their trading vessels. Let us defend our fortresses and frontiers against the French and Spanish armies. Let us cease to be English; let us not become French; and we shall remain Portuguese."

This was a voice crying in the wilderness. The

Cabinet of Lisbon had long been divided between two diametrically opposite opinions; and those persons who were summoned to counsel it were classed under the denominations of the French party and the English party, though both professed an equal devotedness to their prince and their country. The Commander d'Araujo, then prime minister, was looked upon as the leader of the French party. He had been for a considerable time ambassador at Paris; his policy, formed and expanded in the atmosphere of French glory, did not allow him to think that the house of Braganza could maintain itself on the continent in any other way than by a ready obsequiousness to the will of the Emperor Napoleon. Don Lorenzo de Lima and Ayres de Saldanha, ambassadors at Paris and Madrid, confirmed him in this manner of thinking, by dwelling, in their despatches, the one on the gigantic power of France, the other on the absolute subjection of the Court of Madrid to that of the Tuilleries. The opposite system was vehemently espoused by the counsellor of state, Don Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho, the leader of the last ministry, which had been overthrown by French influence. His father, Don Domingos Antonio de Souza Coutinho, was minister plenipotentiary at London. The two brothers, Don Ioao de Almeida, the late war minister, and with them the majority of the Cabinet, were convinced that Portugal must die of poverty if she were at once to lose her



maritime commerce and colonies. From this they concluded, that, at all risks, it was necessary to remain the vassals of Great Britain. "As soon as the foreign armies," said they, "appear on the frontiers, we must retire on board our ships, and take refuge in Brazil. There we may still reign and govern." On one point the two parties were perfectly agreed; namely, that the enthusiasm of the people, and the employment of the national forces, could not be opposed, with even a shadow of success, against the enormous means which the conqueror of Europe would not fail to bring into action against Portugal. In no case, therefore, were any defensive measures ever seriously contemplated.

In reply to the notes transmitted to his minister of the foreign department, the Prince Regent declared, that, to gratify his powerful allies, the Emperor of France and the King of Spain, he was ready to exclude the ships of Great Britain from his ports; but that the moderation of his government, and his religious principles, would not suffer him to adopt such a rigorous and unjust measure, in the midst of peace, as the confiscation of English property, and the imprisonment of merchants, who had nothing to do with political affairs, and resided in the country under the guarantee of his royal word.

This reply had been settled in concert with England, and it also expressed the personal opinions of the Prince. Emigration to Brazil was a thing quite

repugnant to his indolent habits. Preparations for that step were at that moment actually making, not, indeed, without his knowledge, but in consequence of resolutions which originated with others, and not with him. His will, if he had had energy enough to express any, would have been, to continue to live peaceably and piously in his monastic palace of Mafra. He would have thought no sacrifice too great, to resolve the insoluble problem of giving satisfaction to both England and France.

On the 30th of September, the French chargé-d'affaires and the Spanish ambassador quitted Lisbon. The inhabitants of that capital learned on the same day, that the ships and commercial property of the Portuguese had been seized in the ports under the dominion of the Emperor Napoleon. Though this blow had been foreseen, it was not the less terrible. Some sanguine minds, however, wished to believe, that the harsh proceedings of the French government were only meant to obtain from Portugal a more effective adherence to the Continental system. The Prince Regent clung to this consolatory idea. Spain also appeared to him to afford a prop to his equivocal policy. He reckoned upon the ties of relationship, which connected him with the family of Charles IV., and still more upon the common interest which that monarch had with him, not to allow the French to obtain a footing in the peninsula; an interest to which he had not

appealed in vain during the distress of Portugal in 1797 and 1801.

But times were changed. The ruin of the house of Braganza was now plotted at Madrid as well as at Paris. Prince Masserano, a grandee of the first class, had in France the title and honours of Spanish Ambassador. But a man without any public character had, for a year past, been the real Ambassador of Spain. Invested with the private confidence of the Prince of the Peace, Don Eugenio Izquierdo had, unknown to Masserano and the Spanish Minister for the foreign department, full powers from the King to discuss the highest concerns of the monarchy, and even to sign treaties. As he had grown old in the superintendence of the cabinet of natural history at Madrid, it was supposed that his love of science had drawn him to the metropolis of human knowledge; and this is not the first time that the cloak of the man of learning served as a cover to political intrigues. When the unseasonable rhodomontade of Godoy took place, at the time of the battle of Jena, it was Izquierdo who hurried to the Emperor's head-quarters at Berlin; it was he who explained, justified, offered and promised every thing. The Prince of the Peace considered himself to have been saved by him from the wrath of Napoleon; he was at least indebted to his active agent for the powerful friend who afterwards stood him in so much stead in his day of adversity.



When he despatched this secret agent to Paris, Charles IV. said to him, "Manuel Godoy is thy protector. Do what he orders thee. It is through him that thou must serve me."\* Izquierdo did so. His conduct would be irreproachable, were there not in morality a more sacred duty than that of blindly obeying the caprices of kings.

General Duroc, grand marshal of the Emperor's palace, was chosen to treat with Don Eugenio Izquierdo. He had married a Spanish lady. No other person was entrusted with so many and such important political secrets. The turn of his mind, which had more of correctness than of profundity, his perfect steadiness, and, more than all, the empire of habit, had placed him upon the footing of a privy confidant. Another name would have been given to the connexion of Duroc with Napoleon, if a prince of his disposition could ever have a favourite.

The negotiation was carried on in secrecy. Duroc gave an account of its progress to the Emperor alone; on his side Izquierdo corresponded with the Prince of the Peace, and with him only. The two negotiators concluded, at Fontainebleau, on the 27th of October, 1807, a treaty by which Portugal was obli-

\* "*Manuel es tu protector ; tras quando te diga ; por medio suyo debes servir me.*" These are the very words used by Charles IV. and quoted in the correspondence of Izquierdo. (*Memorias recogidas y compiladas por Don Juan Nellro.*)

terated from the list of independent states.\* Of the six provinces composing that kingdom, the most northern, called Entre Douro e Minho, was given in full property and sovereignty, comprehending the city of Oporto, to the King of Etruria, and was to constitute a kingdom, under the name of Northern Lusitania. The Prince of the Peace acquired the property and sovereignty of the Algarves and Alentejo, with the title of Prince of the Algarves. The kingdom of Lusitania and the principality of the Algarves acknowledged the King of Spain as protector. The remainder of Portugal, that is to say, the provinces of Tras-os-Montes, Beira, and Estremadura, was to be sequestered, in order, at a general peace, to be restored to the house of Braganza, in exchange for Gibraltar, the island of Trinidad, and other maritime possessions wrested from the Spaniards by the English. The Emperor of the French was to receive immediately the kingdom of Etruria; he agreed to acknowledge the King of Spain as Emperor of the two Americas, in the same manner as he had not long before allowed the former Emperor of Germany to assume the title of Emperor of Austria.

A convention,† supplementary to the treaty of Fontainebleau, and concluded on the same day, re-

\* See Notes and Illustrations, No. II. at the end of this Volume.

† See Notes and Illustrations, No. III. at the end of this Volume.

gulated the details respecting the occupation of Portugal, and the mode of its administration after the conquest. It was settled that the sequestered provinces should be governed by France. A French corps, consisting of twenty-five thousand infantry, three thousand cavalry, and an artillery establishment proportioned to this number of troops, was to receive orders to march through Spain, and, on its route, was to be supplied from the magazines of that kingdom. It was to be joined by an auxiliary Spanish corps of eight thousand foot, three thousand horse, and thirty pieces of cannon; and the conjunct force was to march direct upon Lisbon. A division of ten thousand Spaniards was to take possession of the province of Entre Douro e Minho; while another division, six thousand strong, of the same nation, was to occupy Alemtejo and the Algarves. It was agreed, that the generals in chief of the two powers should govern the country, and levy taxes for the benefit of their respective sovereigns. The Spanish generals who were placed over the northern and southern provinces of Portugal, were to be entirely independent of the general who commanded the French troops; the latter was even to obey the King of Spain or the Prince of the Peace, in case of either of them coming to the army. The sixth article of the Convention stipulated that there should be assembled, at Bayonne, an army of forty thousand men, in readiness to enter Portugal as a reinforce-



ment; after, however, the high contracting powers should have made arrangements on this score.

While the cabinet of Madrid was thus eagerly assisting the cabinet of the Tuilleries in plundering an inoffensive neighbour, the two houses of Spain and Portugal might be considered as forming only one family, so completely were they blended by marriages;\* the omnipotent favourite, a grandee of Portugal, under the title of Count of Evoramonte, received a pension, which had been granted to him by the Queen. The profit which Spain was to derive from this ignoble partition treaty was dependant on an uncertain futurity, while to Napoleon the immediate fruit of it was, the advantage of penetrating unresisted through the Pyrenees, and a plausible pretence for spreading his battalions over the Spanish provinces to the north of the Ebro and the Douro. While the feeble army of Charles IV. was carrying the war in an opposite direction to that in which the real danger of Spain existed, the throne

\* The mother of the Queen of Portugal was sister of Charles III. King of Spain. The wife of the Prince Regent was the daughter of Charles IV. The only infanta of Portugal who in the course of one hundred and forty years had married abroad, was united to a Spanish prince, the brother of Charles IV. From this union sprang the infant Don Pedro Carlos de Borbone y Braganza, who was brought up at the court of Lisbon, and who was meant to be the husband of the Prince Regent's eldest daughter.

was left defenceless, and the love of the people was withdrawn from the monarch, who, in mere wantonness of heart, had introduced foreign armies into the very centre of his kingdom.

The signature of the treaty of Fontainebleau was not waited for as a signal to the French troops to cross the Pyrenees: they were put in motion as soon as the fundamental bases of the negotiation were settled. On the 17th of October, 1807, Junot received orders to enter Spain within twenty-four hours. On the 18th, the van of the first division of the army of observation of the Gironde passed the Bidassoa. It was followed by the second and third divisions, the park of artillery, and the cavalry. The columns, sixteen in number, marched at a day's distance from each other, and bent their course by the high road of Burgos and Valladolid, towards Salamanca. Don Cerarco Gardoqui, intendant of the Spanish armies, had been appointed to provide for the wants of the troops. Lieutenant-general Don Pedro Rodriguez de la Buria received General Junot at Irun, and complimented him in the name of the Prince of the Peace. He had executed the same mission before, in 1801, with respect to General Leclerc.

The forces of Spain took the field at the same time, to anticipate the execution of a treaty which was not yet signed. All the regiments in the Peninsula, with the exception of the Catalonian garrisons and the troops in the camp of Saint Roch, took

the road to Portugal. The corps which were habitually stationed at Madrid, and even the king's household troops, furnished detachments. In the interior of the kingdom there remained only the skeletons of battalions and squadrons, which had been stripped, to bring the field-battalions and squadrons up to their full complement; the one, of seven hundred men; the other, of a hundred and seventy horse.

The Spanish corps, which was to act under the orders of General Junot, was assembled at Alcantara, on the Tagus. Its strength was eight battalions, four squadrons, a company of horse artillery, and two companies of sappers and miners. The fine divisions of provincial grenadiers of Old and New Castile formed a part of the infantry. It was commanded by Lieutenant-general Don Juan Caraffa, Captain-general of Estremadura.

The troops which were to occupy the projected kingdom of Northern Lusitania, were drawn from Galicia, Asturias, and the kingdom of Leon, and were concentrated at Tuy, on the bank of the Minho. They composed a corps of fourteen battalions, six squadrons, and a company of foot artillery, under the orders of Lieutenant-colonel Francisco Taranco y Plano, Captain-General of Galicia.

Lieutenant-general Don Francisco Solano, Marquis del Socorro, Captain-general of Andalusia, collected at Badajoz eight battalions, five squadrons,



and a company of horse artillery, to take possession of the provinces which were allotted to the Prince of the Peace by the treaty of Fontainebleau.

The Spanish officers and soldiers marched with regret to an inglorious conquest. A vague uneasiness, with respect to the projects of the Emperor, began to be felt among the enlightened classes.

Everywhere on its route the French army met with a favourable reception. The cities of Vittoria, Burgos, and Valladolid, gave entertainments to the General-in-chief and the principal officers. The horror which, but a few years before, the Spaniards had manifested towards a people who had been represented to them as heretics and enemies of social order, had given place to feelings of hospitable kindness. The heads of the clergy came to meet the columns. The peasants ran to the high road to see the marching by of the soldiers, who were Christians like themselves; it was obvious, that the reign of Napoleon had entirely effaced the antipathy of pre-eminently Catholic Spain to new France.

The troops were twenty-five days in reaching Salamanca. Every thing was in readiness for their being put into cantonments in the neighbourhood of that city, when Junot received orders to enter Portugal, and not to lose a moment, lest the English should anticipate him at Lisbon. The Emperor did not point out what road was to be followed, but he gave peremptory orders that *the march*

*of the army should not be delayed for a single day, under pretence of procuring subsistence. Twenty thousand men, said he, can live anywhere, even in a desert.\**

\* The Duke of Berwick, general of Philip V., was taught, in the campaign of 1704, the fate that threatens an army invading Portugal by the left bank of the Zézere. The combined forces of France and Spain were palsied in the midst of their success by topographical obstacles and the want of provisions. In 1762, on the same ground, the same obstacles stopped the Spanish army under the orders of Count d'Aranda, and the auxiliary corps, commanded by the Prince de Beauvau, and compelled them to retreat before troops inferior both in quality and numbers. But, subsequently to the Revolution, the French were accustomed to laugh at dangers and local difficulties, which would have frightened their predecessors. Without laying himself open to a charge of temerity, a general might, with Napoleon's worst soldiers, undertake strategical enterprises, in which the armies of the old monarchy would have failed. This assertion will not appear too bold to those who have studied the internal management of the great armies of Louis XIV. and Louis XV. The men of that period were as fit as those of the Revolution for daring attempts; but the science of making men march was not known. Little knowledge was possessed of this essential branch of the art of war, which consists in moving masses of troops rapidly over a wide extent of country, for the purpose of crushing an enemy on his weak point with superior forces, or striking an unexpected blow at him in the very heart of his power. The prejudices and luxurious habits of the leaders then palsied and stifled the good dispositions of the French soldier.

In the month of December 1703, Louis XIV. sent Major-general Puysegur to the Portuguese frontier, to prepare for the



Of the difficulty of invading Portugal a very erroneous idea will be formed from the aspect which the configuration of that country presents on geographical maps. It would seem as if, being once established in Spain, there was only a step to make, to sever in the middle that slip of land which runs parallel with the sea, in a length of a hundred and thirty leagues, and a breadth of fifty at the utmost. The operation appears to be the more easy, from the circumstance of the Douro and the Tagus, the two great rivers of the country, flowing through Spain for the greatest part of their course; and our being taught by physical geography that, as rivers ap-

invasion of that kingdom, which was to be accomplished in the following year by the French and Spanish army, under the Duke of Berwick. After having inquired and explored, Puysegur took it into his head to construct provision waggons, like those used by the armies in Flanders and the Low Countries; and these were to be employed on roads in which every thing is uniformly conveyed on the backs of mules! He settled that the waggons laden with the pontoons and beams for making bridges, and with the long scaling ladders, should march with the troops. To the soldiers he proposed to give wadded and quilted coverlets of wool, that they might undress themselves when they were in their tents. The campaign of 1704 was opened; the tents, the bridge equipages, and all the baggage which had been considered absolutely necessary, remained behind; the conquest of Portugal was obliged to be relinquished. Yet Puysegur was the officer of that age who was the most thoroughly versed in the science of the marching of armies; he has taken care to tell us so himself, and his contemporaries did not contradict him.

proach their mouths, the mountains dip and the valleys widen. Here it is just the contrary, and that is the reason why Portugal has remained a kingdom independent of Spain. The provinces of Entre Douro e Minho and Tras-os-Montes, to the south of the lower Douro, are more mountainous and difficult than the bordering Spanish provinces of Galicia, and especially of Leon and Zamora. Between the Douro and the Tagus, the plains of Salamanca and the valley of Plazencia terminate in Spain. The Sierra de Gata, by which they are separated, sinks in passing the Galician frontier, and then suddenly rises, at the distance of four leagues, to form the Estrella. The mass and the branches of the Estrella cover the central region of Portugal, which bears the name of Beira. The principal summit of this vast mountain is three leagues to the south-east of Guarda. It towers eight hundred fathoms above the level of the sea, and is crowned with snow throughout the year. From its granite sides flow the Zezere, the Mondego, the Alva, and thirty other tributaries of the Tagus and the Douro. Its ramifications are sometimes formed in steep angles, sometimes in terraces of freestone blocks, heaped together in disorder. Nature and state-policy have conspired together to prevent any roads of communication being made, between Portugal and Spain, across the rocks of Beira. The high road from Bayonne to Lisbon, that which is commonly



## 24 DESCRIPTION OF PORTUGUESE FRONTIER

used by carriages, passes by Madrid, crosses the Tagus at the bridge of Almaraz in Spanish Estremadura, and a second time in front of Lisbon, where the river is three leagues wide. Military foresight did not allow the French to take a road, at the end of which, after having overcome many obstacles, they would still have to force the passage of an enormous river, or rather arm of the sea, before they could arrive at the object of their expedition. Besides, the auxiliary Spanish corps being charged to occupy the provinces on the right bank of the Douro, and the left bank of the Tagus, it appeared that the operations of the principal army ought to be central, and exclusively applied to the country comprehended between the two great rivers of Portugal.

A struggle with the difficulties of the Estrella was, therefore, inevitable. On this side there are two roads which lead to Lisbon. The one is to the north, the other to the south, of the summit of the mountain. The first goes by Almeida, Celorico, Ponte Murcella and Thomar. The narrow carts of the country, drawn by oxen,\* travel it with ease.

\* Agricultural produce, in Portugal, is conveyed in low carts, of a clumsy construction, similar to those which are used in the other mountainous regions of the Spanish peninsula, in Turkey, and in northern Africa; they are generally three feet and a half wide from wheel to wheel. There is very little iron in them; in some there is none at all. The wheels are either solid or their felloes have tires of green oak. They are fixed to the

No considerable obstacles exist to the march of artillery, except the descent from the slaty table-land of Beira-Alta\* into the valley of the Mondego. There are few torrents which require to be forded. On the principal river, such as the Mondego, the Alva, and the Ceira, there are bridges. The country is populous and fertile. The second road goes by Castello Branco and Abrantes. For a space of thirty leagues, it traverses a pile of rocks, a desert in which industry has contrived here and there to render productive some nooks of a wretched soil. The steep ramifications from the Sierra de Estrella †

axletree, which revolves with them; and, as they are never greased, the rotation produces a continued creaking, which, being heard a long way off, serves to give notice to other carts, that are coming along the narrow mountain road in an opposite direction.

In the *Voyage en Portugal*, by Professor Link and Count Hoffmannsegg, is to be found the most faithful picture which has yet been traced of men and things in that country.

\* Beira is divided into several parts, namely: *Beira Alta*, Upper Beira, which comprehends from the Serra de Estrella to the Douro, and from the Spanish frontier to the river Orda; *Beira Baixa*, Lower Beira, which comprises the country between the Serra de Estrella and the Tagus; *Beira Mor*, which includes the country in the vicinity of the sea. The name of *Costa de Beira* is given to the upper valleys of the Zézere and Mucimão, between Belmonte, Covillham, and Fundas.

† In Spanish, a chain of mountains is called *Sierra*, and in Portuguese, *Serra*, which means a *saw*. The natives of the Peninsula think that the indented peaks, with which the summits of the chains are thickly set, bear a resemblance to the teeth of a saw.



run perpendicularly to the direction of the march. Every two leagues there are rivers which have neither bridges nor boats, and which in winter, or after rains, cannot be passed without extreme danger. In such excessively difficult ground, even the most feeble defence may disconcert the most experienced army. When, after having triumphed over men and nature, that army reaches Abrantes, and seems within sight of the consummation of its labours, the Tagus and the Zezere shut it out from the land of promise, and oppose an insurmountable barrier to invaders who have not been able to bring with them either artillery or a bridge equipage.

The army was in ignorance of these local details, for the geographical maps are so inaccurate, that they do not even give the names of the rivers that are to be crossed. The Portuguese themselves are better acquainted with India and Brazil than they are with the valleys of Tras-os-Montes and Beira. All the information that the French could obtain at Salamanca, was picked up from ignorant muleteers. General Junot determined to take the road to Abrantes, because it was shorter than that of Ponte Murcella. By doing this he would also gain several advantages, such as that of avoiding the fortress of Almeida, which probably would not have opened its gates, and of procuring a fresh supply of ammunition and provisions at Alcantara on the Tagus,



where the Spanish division of General Carassa was now assembling.

The army left Salamanca on the 12th of November. It marched by brigades, at intervals of a day's distance from each other: the troops had orders to go over the space of fifty leagues, between Salamanca and Alcantara, in five days. The artillery and the baggage were to accompany the columns of infantry; the line of march that was fixed on was that by Ciudad Rodrigo, the Puerto\* de Perales, and Moraleja. The weather was horrible; the rain fell in torrents. Several carriages dropped behind, from the time of passing the Yeltes, before reaching Ciudad Rodrigo. In advancing, the difficulties of the march continued to increase. As neither the rapidity nor the direction of the movement had been foreseen at Madrid, provisions had not been got together, and it was impossible to collect them promptly on a frontier depopulated by former wars between Spain and Portugal. The soldiers, having nothing to eat, roamed about in the rear and on the flanks of the columns, lost themselves in the woods, and alarmed the peasants. Several perished in fording the aqueduct between Fuente Guinaldo and Pena Parda. The van of the army arrived on the Tagus in a state of wretched-

\* *Puerto*, in Spanish, and *Porto* or *Portella*, in Portuguese, (a port or gate) is the name given to the mountain passes.

ness and confusion, which was the forerunner of still greater wretchedness and confusion.

General Junot reached Alcantara two days before the troops. This city, situated on the left bank of the Tagus, is famous for its bridge, a magnificent work of the Romans. It was formerly looked upon as one of the principal Spanish frontier fortresses against Portugal, though its fortifications consist of nothing more than a miserable envelope, with salient and re-entering angles, without a covered way, and without a moat. No military establishments were found there. General Caraffa had been a week in the city. The depopulation of the circumjacent country had not admitted of replacing in the magazines and in the depôts of cattle, the bread and meat which his division had consumed. Hardly one or two rations per man could be given to the French. Their damaged cartridges were exchanged for fresh ammunition. By coming to Alcantara the troops had lengthened their march four leagues. The general-in-chief, therefore, ordered that those who had not arrived, and the whole of the carriages, should not advance farther on this route than Zarza-la-Major. In spite of famine, the rain, ignorance as to the roads, and the uncertainty what enemies there would be to encounter, he did not hesitate as to the steps to be taken. In his situation, to march was to fight, and to arrive would be to conquer. By the order of the day of the

17th of November, the corps of observation of the Gironde was informed, that it would enter Portugal before the expiration of forty-eight hours. A proclamation,\* issued on the same day from the head-quarters at Alcantara, informed the Portuguese that the armies of Napoleon were entering their country, in order to make common cause with their beloved sovereign against the tyrant of the seas. As usual, the inhabitants were invited to remain quiet in their towns and villages, and were threatened with the customary penalties, in case of their taking arms against their allies the French. As a great number of soldiers, a part of the artillery, and all the baggage, had fallen behind, Adjutant-commandant Bagneris received orders to wait at Zarza-la-Major for the detachments, stragglers, and carriages, which successively arrived, and to form the whole into a column, with which he was to follow the last division of the army.

On the 19th of November, a company of light troops took post at Segura, a Portuguese village; of whose ancient castle, demolished in former wars, only a half-ruined tower is now standing. On the same day, the vanguard, consisting of the seventieth regiment of infantry, two companies of Catalonian sappers and miners, and the Spanish hussar

\* See Notes and Illustrations, No. IV. at the end of this volume.



regiment of Maria Louisa, under the orders of Brigadier-general Maurin, began the march of the army. It was followed, next day, by the first and second divisions of infantry, and by that of General Caraffa. These forces entered Portugal by the bridge of Segura, on the Erjas, and called in the company of light troops which had been pushed forward. The rest of the army set out, on the succeeding days, and forded the Erjas, at the foot of the mountain on which are the remains of the dismantled fortress of Salvaterra do Estremo.

The march was directed on Castello Branco. The advanced guard took the best but longest road, which goes through the small town of Idanha a Nova. The other part of the army proceeded in two columns; the one by Zibreira and Ledoviro; the other, by Rosmarinhal and Monforte. Both of them forded the Aravil and the Poncul, rivers which fall into the Tagus.

Castello Branco is built on the slope of a hill, and is overlooked by an old castle. In 1704 Marshal Berwick ordered a part of its walls to be blown up. The Spanish army, under Count d'Aranda, and the auxiliary corps, commanded by the Prince of Beauvau, were not able to penetrate farther than this town in 1762. It is a bishopric, and the principal town of a comarca. It has a population of six thousand inhabitants, which in such a country is a considerable number.

The troops spent but one night at Castello Branco, and continued their progress in two columns. The advanced guard and the second division proceeded by Perdigao and Macao; the road is practicable for man and horse, and there are but few torrents. At the Portella da Milharica this road crosses the steep mountains which run perpendicularly to the Tagus, from the summit of the Moradal to behind Villa-Velha, and which, after having contracted the stream between two rocks, stretch out towards Niza, in the Alentejo. This difficult chain is traversed, or rather rent open, by the river Ocreza, which is not fordable anywhere near its confluence with the Tagus. The troops passed it in front of Vendas Novas by a ferry-boat, which could not contain more than twelve men, or four horses. It was with extreme slowness, and not without the loss of some soldiers, that eight or ten thousand men, and eight or nine hundred horses, were conveyed from the one bank to the other.

The general staff, the first division, the greatest part of the columns of the rear-guard, and whatever artillery-waggons they could carry with them, took the upper road, which is wider than the other, but thickly set with blocks of quartz and rocky asperities. At every step swollen and rapid rivers tried the patience of the troops, and swept some of them away. Besides several torrents of less magnitude, they were obliged successively to ford the Liria, the



Ocreza, which was then four feet in depth; the Alvito, still wider, and nearly as deep; and the Troya, the passage of which would have been looked upon as very dangerous, if the Alvito and the Ocreza had not previously been crossed. On the right bank of the Alvito rises perpendicularly the chain which comes from Moradal. The pass which leads through this chain is called Portella das Thalhadass. On the right and left of the road, the army saw the remains of the redoubts which were constructed by the Count de Lippe, when, in the campaign of 1762, he wished to add to the strength of this strong position. After a fifteen hours' march the stoutest and nimblest of the men reached Sobreira Formosa. The French stopped but a night in that village. Other torrents, other mountains awaited them, almost all the way to Abrantes. Old soldiers, who had served in the Swiss and Tyrolese Alps, were astonished when they found it necessary to descend almost vertically into the bed of the Codes, and then scale the wall of rocks on the left bank of that tributary stream of the Zezere.

During five deadly days, cheerless eminences of free-stone succeed wastes of sharp slaty rocks, and are followed by enormous mountains of granite. Here, wherever the stone does not appear on the surface, the eye wanders till it is lost over wastes uniformly strewn with heath and cistus. The only flocks of the inhabitants are lean goats, so timid that

they are always ready to fly to the mountains. To find the traces of human beings, they must be sought for at the bottom of some ravines, which retain water in summer. There, near a hamlet, which, in the colour and the shape of its houses, resembles a continuation of the eternal rock, some enclosures are planted with olives, and a little rye and maize is sown. The monotony of the landscape is relieved by nothing but insulated chesnut-trees, which were then leafless, the pale cork-trees, and the stunted green oaks, the appearance of which has, at all seasons, a melancholy effect.

The army suffered incessantly from the bad weather. In Portugal, the autumnal rains are a positive deluge, which reminds us of the winter of the Antilles. Twenty times a day the columns of infantry were broken in fording the swollen and overflowed rivers. The soldiers straggled along at random; and, ceasing to be restrained by the ties of discipline and the presence of their leaders, they had no longer the appearance of an army, but rather of a medley of individuals exasperated by distress. The day's march was a very long one. The narrow paths often obliged them to proceed one by one. In a country where the mountains are so lofty, the sun is scarcely eight hours above the horizon. It was not till a late hour of the night that they could reach their resting-place. And what a resting-place! almost always the naked rock. In the German



wars, a smoking stove and kind hosts made the French forget the toils of a forced march. In Portugal, it was a God-send when, after having endured the most terrible fatigues, they could obtain the shelter of a green oak ; when, from the scrubby olive trees, they could procure fuel enough to make a fire, which, after all, had not heat enough to dry their body and their clothes, drenched as they were by the rains of heaven and the streams.

The French were not expected in Portugal ; no preparation had been made to receive them, either as friends or as enemies. It was known in Beira that they were coasting along the frontier. As the magistrates received from Lisbon neither orders nor advice, as to the conduct that was to be observed towards them, it was supposed that the French army would pass the Tagus, in the Spanish territory, to proceed to Gibraltar. This opinion gained ground when it was discovered that the first columns had taken the direction of Alcantara. Yet, all at once, behold them entering Portugal, with no provisions, no means of transport, and pushing on without stop through a country in which a prudent traveller never quits the place where he has slept without providing subsistence for the day.

Accordingly, no distribution of provisions was made. Castello Branco, the only place on the road which could have furnished bread, meat, and wine,

was taken at unawares, and was, in a manner, stunned by the irruption of the foreign troops. Notwithstanding several examples of severity, which the commander-in-chief exercised on offending French and Spaniards, less as a punishment for unavoidable faults, than to prevent the recurrence of disorder at a time when it would not be so excusable, the plundering which took place hindered the inhabitants from applying to the use of the army the scanty resources which they might have been able to collect together under ordinary circumstances. Pressed by want, the soldiers betook themselves to the commons, and ate the honey from the lüves which are scattered about in those situations. Some discovered and devoured the frugal hoard of maize, olives, and chesnuts, which the poor peasant had put by to feed his family during the winter; others lived on the acorns, *bellotas*, with which cattle are fattened in the Peninsula. Woe to the humble cottage that fell in the way of these famished marauders! The terrified families immediately took flight. Many soldiers of the infantry were killed by the peasants, who were driven to despair. The cavalry lost a still greater number of horses; even the strongest were unshod, meagre, and worn out. From the first day after the passing of the Erjas, the artillery fell into the rear, though twelve oxen or horses were harnessed to each field-piece, and though, in scaling the



mountains, they were rather carried than drawn up by the artillerymen and the soldiers assigned for the service of the park.

General Junot arrived at Abrantes on the morning of the 24th. His advanced guard had entered that town the evening before. His first care was to secure the passage of the Zezere. The occupation of Abrantes was to be completed, in a military point of view, by taking possession of Punhete,\* a small town, situated on the left bank of the Zezere, at its confluence with the Tagus. Mezeur, captain of engineers, the Catalan sappers and miners, and a detachment of French infantry, were accordingly dispatched to Punhete to re-establish a bridge, formed of boats, which, after having been used for that purpose in 1801, were now scattered about in various parts of the river. Abrantes is a considerable city. It is built on the southern slope of an eminence, at the foot of which flows the Tagus. The entrance to it is by narrow and difficult roads; the upper part has old walls and a ruined castle. There is a permanent bridge of boats a quarter of a league below the walls of the city. It is the last on the road to Lisbon. Not far from here, the Tagus, enlarged by the Zezere, ceases to flow in an abyss, and descends to the sea, majestic, immense, and

\* At Punhete boats are built so expeditiously, that they seem to descend from the forests into the river.

watering the fertile plains which are situated at the termination of the desert, and at the entrance of Alemtejo, on one side, and of Estremadura on the other. The fortress of Abrantes might be made to have a great influence upon military operations. It only wants to be better fortified to be the key of Portugal.

At Abrantes the sufferings of the army terminated. Provisions and shoes were given out to the soldiers. The doubts which had hitherto been felt as to the steps which the Court of Lisbon would take, and the just fears of the English effecting a landing at the mouth of the Tagus, now vanished before consolatory hopes. If the Prince Regent had intended to resort to force of arms to prevent foreigners entering his kingdom, there was nothing to hinder him from opposing the French with more than ten thousand troops, collected beforehand in the vicinity of his capital. The regulars and the militia would have garrisoned Abrantes, or, at least, they would have occupied the entrenchments which still existed on the right bank of the Zézere, opposite Punhete. On the contrary, the moral aspect of the country was quiet and peaceable. The success of the expedition was no longer problematical. With a sort of openness of heart, which, however, was not wholly without calculation, the French General himself announced to the Portuguese Prime Minister his arrival at Abrantes. "I shall be at Lisbon in

four days," said he: "My soldiers are quite disconsolate that they have not yet fired a shot. Do not compel them to do it. I think you will be in the wrong if you do."

Portugal was conquered, and the Prince Regent did not even know that foreign troops had set foot in his kingdom. After the departure of the French legation and the Spanish embassy from Lisbon, the government had advised the merchants of the English factory not to wait the issue of a quarrel which, whatever might be its result, could not fail to terminate to their prejudice; to hasten their removal, it relinquished the custom-house duties payable upon exported merchandize. Three hundred English families, almost denationalised by their long residence in those cities, immediately left Lisbon and Oporto with their property. A promise was given to respect the persons and property of those who stayed. On this condition, and with the understanding that the French and Spaniards should not enter Portugal, England allowed the Court of Lisbon to yield an ostensible obedience to the will of the Emperor Napoleon.

Encouraged by this permission, the government wrote to Paris, that it would take part, fully and absolutely, in the continental system, and was preparing to declare war against England; but it pleaded that the particular situation of the country and its maritime and commercial interests, rendered



extreme prudence necessary. Richly laden vessels were expected from America. A Portuguese squadron was then cruising before Algiers, and would infallibly fall into the hands of the English, if hostilities were commenced before it had time to return to the Tagus. Brazil was destitute of fortifications and troops. It was of importance to the powers that had united against the supremacy of a single state, that it should not add this rich portion of the American Continent to its already too numerous possessions. To prevent Brazil from becoming an English colony, the Prince Regent offered to send his eldest son with the title of Constable, to revive in his subjects of the New World their affection for the mother country. The Prince of Beira was then only nine years old, but the Princess Dowager of Brazil, the Queen's sister, who was beloved by the people, and was considered as the strongest minded individual of the house of Braganza, should accompany the Prince and govern in his name, with the assistance of the late Viceroy, Don Fernando de Portugal. It was hoped at Lisbon that this resolution, which was notified at the same time to the nation and to foreign courts, would be in unison with the political views of France. If, however, the hope of the Prince should be disappointed, he must, as he had often declared, adopt, though with reluctance, the measure of withdrawing with his family from his European dominions.



Notwithstanding this, the intelligence received from Paris did not cease to be alarming. The Portuguese Ambassador had only vague suspicions with respect to the machinations and intrigues which preceded the treaty of Fontainebleau ; but he saw the troops assembling at Bayonne. His letters, which grew every day more pressing, at last decided the Cabinet of Lisbon to issue an official declaration of war against England. By his edict of the 20th of October,\* the Prince Regent announced that, finding it impossible to preserve any longer a neutrality which was so advantageous to his subjects, he had determined to join the cause of the Continent, and to shut his ports against British vessels, commercial as well as warlike. On the twenty second of October, the Portuguese Ambassador in England signed, in the name of the same Prince, an eventual Convention, by which the Court of London agreed to tolerate the closing of the Lusitanian ports, provided France did not require any thing further ; and engaged to furnish active assistance to convey the Court of Lisbon to Brazil, in case the extravagant demands of the common enemy should render that measure necessary.

The more hesitation and difficulty there was in the line of conduct pursued by the Portuguese government, the more it strove to induce a belief

\* See Notes and Illustrations, No. V. at the end of this Volume.

that it had entered sincerely into the new system of political ideas. A levy of recruits was ordered, to raise to twelve hundred men the regiments of infantry, which were all incomplete. On the same day, the Prince Regent decreed the putting on foot of two militia regiments of Eastern and Western Lisbon, and the erection of a new corps of cavalry, under the name of the Royal Horse Volunteers. Officers of the engineers and artillery were sent to the Peninsula of Peniche, and the maritime forts, to repair and arm them, and increase their means of attack and defence. Batteries, intended to produce a cross fire with those on the right bank, were marked out on the left bank of the Tagus. Moveable batteries were organized on the coast. Several corps, which, like the rest of the army, had never before stirred from their usual garrisons, were now removed. A brigade, composed of two regiments stationed in the capital, the fourth and the tenth of infantry, were cantoned at Carcabelos, near the mouth of the Tagus, with orders to oppose any landing which the enemy might attempt, and, in case of need, to throw themselves into the forts. The thirteenth regiment of infantry also quitted Lisbon to garrison Peniche, which had hitherto been guarded only by invalide soldiers. The light legion reinforced the garrison of Setubal. Camps were projected at Barcellos, to the north of the Douro; at Soura, near Coimbre; at Mafra; and at Alcacer

do Sal, to the south of the Tagus. In the mean while, till these could be formed, there appeared to be established a sufficient line of observation to watch over the safety of the coast.

Still more animation was manifested in the naval service. Squadrons were required to defend the entrance of the Tagus against the English fleet. Viscount Anadia, the secretary of state for this department, was seen to tear himself all at once from his mild and indolent habits, hurry to the arsenal at day-break, and spend his time wholly on board the ships. Every vessel in the navy, that was thought sea-worthy, was refitted, equipped, and provisioned, without a moment's delay.

The royal treasury was exhausted; money became daily more scarce. Yet an increase in the receipts was necessary, to cover the expenses incurred by augmenting and putting in motion the land and sea forces. Individuals were invited, by a royal decree, to bring their plate to the mint, either as a gift or a loan, or to be coined on their own account. The Prince Regent set the example, and converted a part of the crown plate into new cruzadoes.

Even those persons, however, who were the least clear-sighted, remarked, that there was more of show than reality in all this parade of defensive preparations; and that those means of which the efficacy was most obvious, might be applied to uses quite



different from that which was avowed. Thus, the fleet being provisioned for several months, there was nothing to prevent it from being employed in conveying to Brazil the royal family and the grandees of the kingdom. The plate, by being converted into coin, could be removed with more ease. The regiments collected in the vicinity of Lisbon might serve to protect the departure of the Prince against a popular insurrection, which was naturally to be expected; and, in case of being pressed by foreign troops, the forts, made tenable and furnished with artillery, and especially the fort of Peniche, might, by their resistance, gain the time which was requisite for effecting the embarkation regularly and without disorder.

It was not without reason that the Court of Lisbon was suspicious of its new allies. The storm which was brewing against it was gathering with frightful rapidity. The Ambassadors of Portugal were dismissed from Paris and Madrid. By his presence at Lisbon, Don Lorenzo de Lima gave additional weight to the arguments with which he had filled his correspondence. He had seen the corps of observation of the Gironde in full march through Spain. Regret was now felt that recourse had been had to temporising. Notwithstanding the promises made to England, the Prince Regent, on the 8th of November, signed an order to place guards over the few British subjects who had re-

mained at Lisbon, and to sequester their property. He quieted his scrupulous conscience by reflecting on the facilities and delays which he had granted, in order to enable them to place their persons and properties in security.

There was no time to be lost. Above all things it was necessary to stop the march of the French army, and appease Napoleon. Don Pedro-Jose-Joaquim Vito de Menezes, Marquis of Marialva, one of the nobles of the court, who was most qualified by birth, and most distinguished for the cultivation of his mind, was dispatched to the Emperor. He was instructed to offer pecuniary sacrifices, and, as a mark of personal respect to the Emperor, he was to propose a marriage between the Prince of Beira, the future heir to the throne, and one of the daughters of the Grand-duke of Berg.

The events of the war prevented M. de Marialva from going further than Madrid. But had he reached Paris, his mission would have had no better success. It was not merely to occupy two great ports on the ocean that the Emperor had sent his troops beyond the Pyrenees. The whole of the Peninsula was included within the scope of his gigantic projects. The secret collusion between Portugal and England had not eluded his vigilance, and it ministered to his policy in the system which was then protected by victory: since the house of

Braganza chose to betray the cause of the Continent, it must cease to reign.\*

In the day when her ally of a century old was in distress, England did not attempt to commit her armies in an unequal contest with the combined forces of France and Spain. But, though unable to defend the Portuguese, she wished at least to share in their spoils. Sir Sidney Smith, famous for having at St. John of Acre, given a slight check to the fortunate career of Napoleon, sailed from England, early in November, with a squadron, to escort the Prince Regent to Brazil, or, in case of his refusal, to take possession of his fleet. As there might be some obstacles in the way of this operation, instructions were sent to Lieutenant-general Sir John Moore, who was then proceeding with seven thousand men from Sicily to the Baltic, to call at Lisbon, and concur in carrying the plan into effect. Another corps of troops, which was assembled at Portsmouth, under the orders of Major-general Sir Brent Spencer, was to be forwarded to the same country, should there appear to be a likelihood of meeting with any resistance. General Beresford was dispatched with a regiment to occupy the island of Madeira. Orders were sent to the East Indies, to seize Goa and the other Portuguese establishments. English foresight did not forget even the factory of Macao in China.

\* See the *Moniteur*, Nov. 13. 1807.



Lord Strangford, a man less known at the time by his diplomatic services than by his success in elegant literature, was the minister plenipotentiary from his Britannic Majesty to the Prince Regent. Notwithstanding the official declaration of the 20th of October, he had continued to reside at Lisbon, and to negotiate with the ministers. He announced to them that, "in consenting to overlook the insult of exclusion from the Portuguese ports, the King of England granted every thing that the difficulty of circumstances and the recollection of an ancient alliance could justly require; but that a single instance more of subserviency to France would inevitably draw down reprisals." The effect followed close upon the threat. As soon as Viscount Strangford was informed of the order issued for detaining his countrymen, he took down the arms of England from over the gate of his hotel, and demanded his passports. A few days after he removed on board the *Hibernia*, the Admiral's ship of the English fleet, which had arrived off the bar of Lisbon. In obedience to his instructions from the ministry, Rear-admiral Sir Sidney Smith declared the Tagus and the Portuguese coast in a state of blockade.\*

From the windows of his palace of Mafra, the

\* See Notes and Illustrations, No. VI., at the end of this Volume.

Prince Regent saw the vessels of Great Britain giving chase to the ships of his subjects. By land as by sea, every thing around him was hostile. In consequence of having endeavoured to keep well with two rival powers, he was on the point of losing all, without even the consolation of having saved his honour. Woful condition for a sovereign, whose courtiers could not believe in the patriotism and devotedness of the nation, because there was nothing in their own hearts but selfishness and pusillanimity!

The merchant ships of Lisbon and Oporto were seized and taken into the English ports on the very day on which the French, passing the Erjas, began to pillage the cottages of the peasants of Beira. The want of posts and roads, and the negligence of the Administration, caused their march to remain unknown. They were supposed to have stopped at Salamanca, or, at the utmost, advanced only as far as Alcantara, when, on the evening of the 24th of November, the government received the letter, dated at Abrantes, from their general-in-chief. By a singular coincidence it happened that, on the same day, the 24th of November, there arrived at the English fleet a messenger from London, who brought the number of the *Moniteur*, in which it was stated that the house of Braganza had ceased to reign, and brought also an assurance that, forgetting the past, England was ready to restore its friendship to the

Prince Regent, if he would consent to depart to Brazil, but that it would never suffer the Portuguese navy to fall into the hands of France.

The surest way of preventing this, would have been to seize it. But this could not be accomplished without taking the forts on the Tagus, and the troops under Generals Moore and Spencer were not yet arrived. Sir Sidney Smith sent a message on shore, and backed it by pressing letters. Lord Strangford landed: an extraordinary council of state was convoked, and the situation of the house of Braganza and of the monarchy was discussed in the presence of the Prince. England guaranteed the colonial possessions.

From France, on the contrary, there was nothing to be expected but the execution of the sentence pronounced by the terrible Moniteur. After all, it was better to reign in America than to be a prisoner in Europe. To make such an evident fact as this clear to the dullest understanding, did not require the vehemence of Sir Sidney Smith, or the rhetoric of Lord Strangford. It was a more eloquent counsellor than the two Englishmen, it was fear, that at last overcame the perpetual fluctuation of the Prince Regent: he resolved to embark.

On the breaking up of the council, the royal family went to the castle of Queluz, two leagues from Lisbon, in order to be nearer to the quay of Belem, where the preparations to embark were to be made.



The result of the deliberation was communicated to the principal persons of the government and the court, and to those whom the Prince Regent himself selected to accompany him to Brazil. The marine brigade went on board the ships. The captains of the royal and commercial vessels were authorised to receive, in those births which were not appropriated by authority, all such faithful subjects as were willing to run the risk of emigrating, and, among these, the preference was to be given to naval and military officers. The custom-house was ordered not to claim the export duties on the luggage and goods of the emigrants. The major part of the persons employed in the government offices requested to be allowed to follow the fortunes of the Prince, and many were refused. There was not room enough in the vessels for all those whom the fear of foreign troops induced to share the fate of their sovereign. The moveables of the court and of individuals were shipped in the utmost disorder.\* For three days, Belem quay was blocked up with carriages, precious effects, and heavy bales and chests, which were in a manner abandoned to the mercy of the first comer.

The twenty-fifth of November was spent by the government in devising means to diminish the con-

\* The emigration which took place under these circumstances has been estimated at as many as fifteen thousand persons, reckoning those in the fleet and in the Portuguese and foreign merchantmen.

fusion and collision which could not fail to arise from the unforeseen march of foreign armies. An order was sent to the civil magistrates, and to the governors of fortresses and provinces, to receive the French and Spanish troops. In the mean while, the Chevalier d'Araujo despatched a Portuguese merchant, José Oliviera de Barreto, a part of whose family was settled in France, to meet General Junot, for the purpose of parleying with him and gaining time.

On the twenty-sixth, a decree,\* which was published and posted in the streets of Lisbon, announced to the Portuguese people that the Prince had resolved to remove to the American provinces, with the queen, his family, and the court, and to fix his residence at Rio de Janeiro, till the conclusion of a general peace. "Notwithstanding he had exhausted the public treasury, and had made continually repeated sacrifices, he had not," he said, "been able to succeed in preserving the blessings of peace to his beloved subjects. The French troops were on their march towards the capital: to resist would be to shed the blood of brave men, without any benefit to their native land. Being himself more particularly the object of the unprovoked hatred of the Emperor Napoleon, he departed with those belonging to him,

\* See Notes and Illustrations, No. VII. at the end of this volume.

that he might lighten the burthen of calamity which pressed on the country."

In imitation of what was done in 1574, when King Sebastian set out on the African expedition, the Prince Regent committed the reins of government, during his absence, to a council of five members, chosen from among the most eminent individuals of the monarchy. The Marquis of Abrantes, allied to the reigning house, as being descended from a natural son of King John II., was the president. It was recommended to the governors of the kingdom to act in such a manner as to prevent the French army from having any cause of complaint against the inhabitants, and to preserve a good understanding between the two nations, which, though the one was traversing in arms the territory of the other, did not, therefore, cease to be allies on the Continent of Europe.

Those who are acquainted with the compassionate tenderness and the affectionate disposition of the Portuguese, may form an idea of the consternation into which Lisbon was plunged, when it became known that the departure to Brazil was irrevocably decided upon. Never did a great city bear so close a resemblance to a single family. The inhabitants, when they met, squeezed each other's hands, and sought and received pity, as if every one was about to lose his child or his father. The princes of the house of Braganza were kindly, unaffected, and po-



pular. They were beloved, if not from reflection, at least from habit.

On the morning of the 27th, the streets and squares were thronged with weeping citizens. The royal family set out from Queluz sooner than had been expected, to proceed to the place of embarkation. Guards had been forgotten to be stationed on the shore at Belem. The multitude crowded round the carriages. The coach of the old Queen was at the head of the mournful procession. Sixteen years had passed by, since she had been seen by the people. Doomed during that long period to outlive herself, she had recently recovered, together with a gleam of reason sufficient to show her the calamities of her country, the noble feelings of a Portuguese and a Queen. She was repeatedly heard to exclaim, "What! shall we quit the kingdom without having fought!" When her coachman strove to quicken the pace of his horses, that he might get rid of the pressure of the crowd, "Not so fast," said she; "it will be thought we are running away." The Princess of Brazil met the blows of misfortune with equal firmness. Her numerous children, so lately the hope of the nation, burst into tears by the side of their mother. The Prince Regent came last. When he stepped from the carriage, he could hardly walk; his limbs trembled under him. With his hand he put aside the people who clung round his knees. Tears trickled from his eyes, and his countenance told

plainly enough how woe-begone and perplexed was his heart. In abandoning the spot where the ashes of his forefathers reposed, his disturbed imagination depicted to him a futurity as gloomy and terrible as the tempest which rends the ocean, to which he was now for the first time going to commit himself.

When the wind is in some points of the compass, ships cannot get out of the Tagus. For forty hours contrary weather prevented the fleet from sailing. These forty hours were an age to the embarked court. The French, who seemed to have fallen from the clouds into Abrantes, might, without any miracle, have quitted that city after having rested two days, and might appear all at once in the middle of Lisbon. Apprehensive of the consequences of a prolonged delay, the Prince Regent ordered the artillery to be removed from some of the forts which could cannonade the fleet, and the guns of the batteries were begun to be spiked.

During the whole of the 28th, groups of citizens, and of the peasants of the environs, thronged the summits of the hills which are near the mouth of the Tagus. Every eye was fixed upon the squadron. But the public grief had now assumed another character. That which had rendered it so expansive on the preceding evening was, that the minds of the multitude had been disposed to melancholy by the terrific perspective of the future. Each, while he shed tears for the royal family, had first wept his

own fate. Other reflections now took their place: the Prince no longer made common cause with his people; the nation was conquered without having been vanquished. Priests, nobles, soldiers, plebeians, all turned their thoughts sadly inwards; all began to think of their own safety. Many fled from the capital, which was soon to be polluted by the presence of foreign troops.

On the morning of the 29th, a favourable wind sprang up from the land. The Portuguese fleet weighed anchor. It consisted of eight sail of the line, three frigates, three brigs, and a considerable number of merchantmen. On leaving the bar, it passed through the English squadron, which was under sail, and which received it with the customary honours. At the moment when the twenty-one guns of the royal salute were heard at Lisbon, there was an eclipse of the sun. Some superstitious Portuguese then exclaimed, in the words of the *Parisian Moniteur*, "The House of Braganza has ceased to reign!"

While the royal family remained in sight, Lisbon seemed to be sunk in a deadly stupor. As soon as it was gone, fear and despair produced confusion. The whole thirteenth regiment of infantry hurried to Peniche, without orders, on hearing of the Prince's embarkation. The city was full of soldiers who quitted their colours in parties. The English were still seen off the bar; for when he departed with



four sail to convoy the Portuguese fleet to Brazil, Rear-admiral Sir Sidney Smith left the remainder of his squadron to continue the blockade of the Tagus. A report was spread that the English were about to effect a landing; and it was next affirmed that they were already masters of Peniche. Swarms of robbers and vagabonds, such as exist in great numbers in all capitals, now flocked from their hiding holes, and Lisbon was on the eve of witnessing scenes of disorder like those of which it was the theatre after the earthquake of 1755. The royal police guard was not strong enough to disperse the groups, collected by the curiosity of some, and the evil designs of others. The agitation and turbulence of the populace increased every hour. People of property, merchants, and even those who most hated the French, wished for the speedy arrival of their army, that an end might be put to this state of disturbance and anxiety.

The French were not far distant, for their General had not been idle at Abrantes. While the extraordinary rise of the waters and the violence of the current retarded the establishment of the bridge at Punhete, he assembled the first troops of his army, and gave a new organization to his advanced guard. The grenadier and light companies of the first and second divisions were united in battalions. General Caraffa, with a part of his Spanish corps, occupied Thomar, to collect provisions. Large boats were

got ready on the Tagus, to convey to Lisbon the sick and the cannon, on their arrival at Abrantes. Three hundred infantry, to escort this convoy, were embarked in smaller boats, from which they could easily land on either bank. It was resolved, that the artillery horses should march separately from the carriages, and should follow by land the movement of that part which went by water. To the reserves of artillery and the column of equipages which had halted at Zarza la Mayor, instructions were sent to enter Portugal by the route of Alcantara and Badajoz. As soon as the General had got together eight or ten thousand men, he did not wait for the rest: orders were issued for the troops to begin their march towards Lisbon.

On the 26th, the advanced guard, consisting of four picked battalions,\* commanded by Colonel Grandsaigne, the principal aid-de-camp of the general-in-chief, and also of the regiment of Spanish hussars, proceeded to Punhete. On the following day, it passed the Zezere in boats. The other troops followed at a distance. The bridge could not be completed before one half of the army had reached the opposite bank. Junot was at the head of his van-guard; on the other side of the river he found

\* In the republican and imperial armies, the name of *battalions d'élite* was given to battalions formed for a *coup de-main*, a march, and sometimes for a campaign, out of the grenadier and light companies of various regiments.

José Oliveira de Barreto, who had arrived from Lisbon. The Commander d'Araujo intreated the General-in-chief to suspend the progress of the army, and to send forward a confidential person, with whom the details respecting the occupation of the territory might be settled advantageously for both nations. From this envoy the French general learned the resolution of the Prince Regent to transfer his government and court to America.

Junot in his heart rejoiced at the Prince Regent's determination. The presence of the sovereign, whom he must either have treated with respect, or oppressed, could have tended only to embarrass the establishment of the French in Portugal. He, however, continued his march, not in the hope of arriving time enough to seize the fleet in the Tagus, but because it was impossible, without the means of subsistence, to stop an army which was irritated by long privations. Herman, the late French consul in Portugal, was despatched from the head-quarters at Punhete, to concert measures with the Commander d'Araujo. When he entered Lisbon, the Regent and his ministers, who had been six-and-thirty hours on board, were anxiously waiting for a wind to carry them out to sea.

The distance between Abrantes and Lisbon is five-and-twenty leagues. The road is a good one for carriages. It passes through the fertile fields on the right bank of the Tagus. The continuance



of the autumnal rains had made the river and its tributary streams overflow. The advanced guard and a part of the first division, crossed the plain of Golegao with the water up to their knees. The other troops took a circuitous route by Torres Novas and Pernes. They thus avoided the inundations of the Alviela and the Almonda, as they passed those rivers at points more distant from their confluence with the Tagus. The inhabitants of the country did not quit their houses on the approach of the French. Provisions were found at Santarem, a city which contains a population of ten thousand, and is one of the finest and best situated in the kingdom. The stragglers, who, in consequence of the bad weather and the difficulty of the road, were still numerous, carried terror into the insulated farm-houses, and into those charming *quintas*, which are the ornament of the Portuguese valleys; so rooted in the troops had become the habit of pillage which they had acquired during their sufferings in Beira!

The van of the army reached Sacavem at ten o'clock on the evening of the 29th. Sacavem, which is a village two leagues from Lisbon, is joined to the capital by an uninterrupted series of country houses. It was a post which it was important to occupy, in consequence of its defence being rendered easy by a lengthened bay, which is there crossed on a flying bridge. On the road, the French general met Lieutenant-general Martinho de Souza e Albuquerque

and Brigadier Francisco de Borja Garçon Stockler, who were sent by the Council of Government to compliment him. Next arrived deputations from the city and the commercial part of its inhabitants, which had been spontaneously formed from among persons of the middle class, to whom either their situation or their opinions gave an interest in winning the good-will of the new government. They both announced the departure of the royal family. They also described the agitated state of the people, and asserted that the English fleet had land forces on board, and that it seemed to be manœuvring to force the passage of the bar. The General-in-chief desired the general officers to return to Lisbon, and to notify to the governors of the kingdom, that he should hold them responsible for the preservation of the public peace. To the other deputies he recommended, to calm the minds of their fellow-citizens, and to tell them that, for the second time, Portugal was about to be indebted to France for her independence. A proclamation,\* speaking the same sentiments as he now verbally expressed, was given to them, to be immediately translated into Portuguese, printed in the two languages, and profusely distributed and posted.

Yet, even while thus affecting calmness and confidence, Junot was overwhelmed with anxious

\* See Notes and Illustrations, No. VIII. at the end of this volume.

cares ; he was perfectly aware, that, in the present situation of his army, there was no medium for it between success and utter ruin. The rain was still falling in torrents ; the west wind, which had blown continually for a month, might bring the English fleet in an hour's time before the quays of Lisbon. Ten thousand soldiers, and thirty thousand inhabitants capable of bearing arms, were brought in contact with each other, and mutually communicated their grief and their enthusiastic feelings. The columns of the French army, meanwhile, marched slowly, and almost at random, separated from each other by torrents and inundated plains. The nearest of them had halted at Santarem, because General Delaborde, who was at its head, wished to get together at least a third of his troops. The succeeding division was two marches behind. There was no news of General Travot, or his cavalry, or of the artillery. It was not known whether the Spanish armies, which were to invade Alemtejo and Entre Douro e Minho, had even begun to move. If the General-in-chief had fifteen hundred men with him at Sacavem, that was the utmost ; and they were in bad order and worn out with fatigue.

At particular moments men are acted upon, are smitten with astonishment, are subjugated, much oftener by moral force, which is in its nature indefinite, than by physical force, the probable effects of which are within the scope of calculation. Junot resolved



not to allow the Portuguese time to learn from hostile reports the disorder of his march, and the scanty number of his soldiers. He entered the capital of Portugal at the head of the skeletons or rather the wrecks of his four picked battalions, on the 30th of November, 1807, a hundred and sixty-seven years, exactly to a day, since the overthrow of the Spanish tyranny by the Portuguese. The French general hastened to Belem, ordered the Prince Regent's cannoneers to fire on some vessels of the royal fleet, which had remained behind, and were endeavouring to join the convoy, compelled them to put back into the port, garrisoned with his infantry the closed batteries on both sides of the Tagus, and returned to the city with the officers of his staff, having no other escort than thirty Portuguese horsemen.

The signs prelude of a tempest vanished suddenly. The public tranquillity was not disturbed. The usual labours of the day were not suspended. Pickets of the Portuguese royal police-guard served as guides to the French troops, and conducted them to their allotted barracks. They had at last made their entrance, those formidable warriors before whom Europe was dumb, and whose looks the Prince Regent had not dared to encounter. A people possessed of a lively imagination had expected to see heroes of a superior species, colossuses, demigods. The French were nothing but men. A forced march

of eighteen days, famine, torrents, inundated valleys, and beating rain, had debilitated their bodies, and destroyed their clothing. They had hardly strength enough left to keep the step to the sound of the drum. A long file of lean, limping, and mostly beardless soldiers, followed with lagging pace the scantily filled masses of the battalions. The officers, the generals themselves, were worn out, and it may be said disfigured, by long and excessive fatigue. The artillery, which is called *ultima ratio regum*, did not even march with the column of infantry. For the purposes of attack and defence, the troops had nothing but rusted firelocks, and cartridges imbued with water. The Portuguese had been prepared to feel terror; the only feeling which they now experienced was that of vexation, at having been astounded and brought under the yoke by a handful of foreigners. This contemptuous estimate of the French forces, in which every one indulged in proportion to the fear that he had felt, left in the minds of the people the seeds of revolt, which were soon ripened into vigorous existence by the course of events.

## **BOOK II.**

**THE INVASION OF PORTUGAL.**



The Corps of Observation of the Gironde distributed into cantonments—The Spanish Troops enter Portugal—Riot on occasion of hoisting the tri-coloured flag—Fortifications undertaken to put the approaches of Lisbon in a defensible state—Portuguese Marine—Russian Squadron in the Tagus—Reflections on the dispositions of the Portuguese nation—Internal arrangements—Manner of governing the country by the French—Discontent of the Portuguese—Re-organization and sending into France of the Portuguese Army—Attempts of the English Admiral—Spain recalls its troops—Views of Napoleon with respect to Portugal—Hopes of the Portuguese—Convocation of the Junta of the Three Estates—Address of the Junta to the Emperor—Protest of the Judge of the People—Project of a Constitution—Reflections.

## BOOK II.

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### THE INVASION OF PORTUGAL.

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ON the morrow after the entrance of the French, there was at Lisbon a slight shock of an earthquake, which made the sea flow upon the quays. It was at this moment that the General-in-chief was giving an account of his expedition to Clarke, the minister at war. "The gods are favourable to us," wrote he; "I draw the omen of it from the circumstance of the earthquake having only manifested their power, without doing us any injury."

It was the joy inspired by success that prompted these words, and Junot felt that joy the more strongly, from his having been so near failing in his enterprise. The army joined its General gradually and by scraps. The stragglers had quartered themselves, twenty or thirty together, in the lone houses, and in the hamlets by the road side. A month elapsed before they rejoined their battalions. Some arrived in boats on the Tagus, others on asses; nor

did the whole of them return. Between Bayonne and Lisbon, the army lost seventeen hundred men, who sank under fatigue and famine, or were drowned in crossing the torrents.

The Portuguese troops were sent away from Lisbon. The first division of infantry was quartered there, not in the wretched barracks in which the native troops were lodged, but in the convents of the monks. The general of division, Delaborde, was appointed governor of the capital.

The second division, under the orders of General Loison, occupied Cintra, Mafra, and the coast as far as the mouth of the Mondego. The brigade of General Thomières was established in the fort and peninsula of Peniche, which is connected with the continent only by a slip of land that at high tides is covered with water.

The third division was appropriated to guard the entrance of the Tagus. The head-quarters of General Travot were at Oyras; he garrisoned the forts of Saint Julien and Cascaes on the right bank, and extended his force from this side to Cabo da Roca, the most westerly point of Europe. Two battalions were encamped on the left bank, on the heights of Morfacem, which command the fort of Trafaria and the tower of Bugio. This tower is built in the sea, at the extremity of a sand-bank, which is connected with the fortress of Costa. It was the object of very active vigilance, because its fire, which crosses that



of Fort Saint Julien, is the main obstacle to any squadron which should attempt to force the passage of the bar of Lisbon.

The cavalry and artillery remained at Lisbon. Santarem and Abrantes were occupied, as being points proper to secure arrivals from the interior by the river. A Swiss battalion was placed in garrison at Almeida.

The General-in-chief distributed in cantonments, in the country to the north of the Tagus, the Spanish division under General Caraffa, taking care to intermix the regiments among the regiments of his own army. The two corps of that nation, which had not been put under his orders, entered Portugal in the beginning of December.\*

Don Francisco Maria Solano, Marquis del Socorro, presented himself on the 2d of the month, before Elvas. This place, the bulwark of Alemtejo, was in a state to hold out a long siege. The Portuguese lieutenant-general, the Marquis d'Alorne, had thrown himself into it, after having conveyed in provisions, and reinforced the garrison with three thousand volunteers from the militia. He had been one of the first to learn the entrance of the French into Beira; and before Solano had assembled his troops, he hastened to send to the Prince Regent, who had not yet quitted Lisbon, important information and honourable advice. His aide-de-camp,

\* See Notes and Illustrations, No. IX. at the end of this volume.

Lecor, whom he selected to bear this last homage of fidelity, returned with an order to throw open the gates of the fortress to the foreign troops. The Spanish general stationed three battalions in Elvas and its dependent forts. He established his head-quarters at Setubal,\* a sea-port, five leagues south of Lisbon, and from thence he sent detachments to occupy the forts and castles of Alemtejo and the Algarves.

The Spaniards were still more tardy in their invasion of the northern provinces. They passed the Minho peaceably in boats, under the cannon of Valença. This fortress, though out of repair and badly provided with artillery, is important from its position; and the Galician corps would have been compelled to choose another *debouché*, had the Portuguese government manifested the slightest demonstration of hostility. The governor of Valença was Major-general Miron, an old man of eighty, formerly reputed one of the most able of the military adven-

\* Setubal, though situated south of the Tagus, makes a part of the province of Estremadura. This city has a population of eight thousand inhabitants. Its port, which, next to that of Lisbon, is the best in Portugal, would be more frequented, if the capital had not monopolized almost all the commerce of the country. The old *enceinte* of Setubal was restored under the reign of John IV. The fortifications of the body of the place have been neglected, but the detached forts are in a good state, and from their situation on the heights they command the entrance of the harbour.

turers who came, in the time of Pombal and De Lippe, to seek their fortune in Portugal. In order to remain master of the passages over the Minho and the Lima, General Taranco garrisoned Valença, and the strong castle of Sant-Jago, which commands the port of Vianna. On the 13th of December he entered Oporto, a great commercial city, the second in Portugal.

It chanced that General Junot had fixed on that very day for hoisting the French tri-coloured flag at Lisbon with great pomp. It was Sunday. Six thousand infantry, cavalry, and artillery were assembled, with much parade, in the extensive square of the Rocio, to be reviewed by the general-in-chief. The populace thronged about them as they marched along, and were astonished to see them, after so short a rest, animated with that warlike gaiety which is the consciousness of courage. When the hour of twelve struck, a volley of cannon was fired from the Moor's Castle; all eyes were turned towards those old walls, which look down on the Rocio, and command the city. In an instant, the standard with the arms of Portugal, which waved on the highest of the towers, was pulled down, and in its place arose foreign colours surmounted by the imperial eagle. If there be any veteran warriors, who, after their lives have been spared by war, have dragged out existence long enough to see the banner under which their blood was shed, insulted by hostile hands, they



can imagine the anguish which was now felt by the faithful sons of Lusitania. Their hearts were overwhelmed with the bitterest affliction. The fallen standard was consecrated by every remembrance of religion and of glory. In his invariable partiality for the Portuguese, Jesus Christ had given it to Alphonso-Henriquez, their first king, had impressed on it the marks of his passion, and, while confiding this second labarum to the new Constantine, had said to him, "Behold the sign under which thou shalt conquer!"\*

When the review was over, the troops returned to their quarters; the populace remained in the square. To the melancholy stupor with which the appearance of the foreign flag had smitten the minds of the people, succeeded, at first, confused murmurs as to the insult which had been offered to the national honour, and, next, imprecations against the French. The Marquis d'Alorne, who had arrived from Elvas, and who was probably the only one of the courtiers who was dear to the nation, happened to pass the Rocio: his name repeated, he was loudly cheered and eagerly followed. It was with difficulty that he escaped from the warm demonstrations of a popularity which was not without danger.

During the remainder of the day, the immense concourse of the people in this city, of two hun-

\* See Note, p. 85.

dred thousand inhabitants, resembled the billows of the ocean when big with a storm. Some Frenchmen were insulted, others were seriously ill treated. The guards ran to arms, and fired some musket-shots. Among the crowd was heard the cry of "Portugal for ever! Death to the French!" At this moment the members of the government, and the principal persons of the kingdom, were assembled together at the house of the General-in-chief. "Woe be to you," said he, "if you dare to conspire against the army of the great Napoleon; your heads shall be responsible to me for the good behaviour of the people."

The opportunity was a favourable one to substitute feelings of terror, instead of the impression which had at first been made on the inhabitants of Lisbon by the pitiable state of the French army. The infantry was formed into masses of battalions in the open spaces of the New Town. The cavalry moved at a brisk trot along the line of quays which borders the Tagus. The trains of artillery, as they rolled along, frightened the citizens by the clattering of their equipage. The 13th of December may be said to be the day on which possession was really taken of the country.\* Thus, in the Italian Republics of the middle age, adventurous warriors at the head of their iron-cased men at arms, rushed through

\* See Notes and Illustrations, No. X. at the end of this volume.

the gates into a city, and, by the commanding spectacle of strength and rapidity united, beat the timid citizens under the yoke.\*

The English were in sight of Lisbon. On the departure of Sir Sidney Smith for Brazil, he left only five sail of the line on this station. But, in the course of a few days, a reinforcement of three ships of the line, three frigates, and several smaller vessels, arrived from England, under Vice-admiral Sir Charles Cotton, who assumed the command of the blockade of the Tagus. The constant presence of this naval force drew the attention of the French, and all their preparations for defence were exclusively made on the sea-coast.

After having formed a sort of lake, twelve or fourteen leagues in circumference, in which fleets may anchor and sail without being exposed to the cannon on the shore, the Tagus abruptly contracts before the western part of the city of Lisbon, in such a manner that it is but eight hundred and six fathoms wide between the Tower of Belem and the Old Tower, (*Torre Velha*,) which is built on the left bank, at the foot of the fortified eminence of Almada. From this spot to its influx into the sea, the river flows between two calcareous chains, of similar form,

\* *To run a city*, was the technical expression which designated this mode of establishing power, by striking the minds of the multitude.



but of which the northern chain extends beyond and to the west of the southern chain. The channel is three leagues long ; its average width is fourteen hundred fathoms. Both banks are lined with batteries and forts. At the mouth of the channel is the bar of Lisbon, intersected by a shelf of submarine rocks, called *os cachopos*. Of the two passes by which ships of the line enter the Tagus, the best is that which is nearest to the right bank.

The French were not ill supplied with materials for the defence of the banks of the Tagus. They had at their disposal the *Fundição* of Lisbon, an immense arsenal, in which is fabricated every thing that an army can want, from a cavalry saddle to a four-and-twenty pounder. The engineers repaired the dilapidated fortifications of the castles, raised and thickened the parapets, and constructed traverses in the works, and closed redoubts on the most commanding external points. In all the forts, fortlets, and batteries, which bore upon the passes, the officers of the artillery renewed all the necessary apparatus. Worm-eaten platforms and gun-carriages, which had been in use for more than a century, were replaced by new and solid ones. Mortars of a long range, which the General had ordered to be cast at the *Fundição*, were placed in the entrenchments, and furnaces were also constructed for heating shot. With red-hot shot vessels might be destroyed ; with shells they might be harassed at

their anchorage. These instruments for the destruction of naval forces, were unusual among a people accustomed to live under the protection of England.

The marine likewise furnished its contingent towards defence. The late government had exhausted the arsenals to fit out the fleet which carried out the Court of Brazil. In the interval between the departure of the Prince Regent and the arrival of the French, the magazines had, in a manner, been given up to be plundered. The vivifying principle of the naval force no longer existed, for the officers and the major part of the sailors had departed with the emigrating squadron. The command of the maritime forces was given to the naval captain, Majendie, who accompanied General Junot to Lisbon, and who brought with him some French officers. He employed such Portuguese as were willing to continue in their civil and military functions. There were still in the Tagus twenty ships of war of various rates, some unserviceable, others left, because sailors could not be found to man them. Majendie soon fitted out the Vasco de Gama, and the Maria the First, both seventy-fours, three frigates, and seven lesser vessels. In less than a month the French were able to oppose to their enemies a small squadron, which, though not capable of venturing to sea, assisted in preventing the English from forcing the bar of Lisbon.

By the side of the imperial flag of France, in the Tagus, waved the imperial Russian flag. One of the fleets of that power, having on board six thousand five hundred troops and sailors, had quitted, during the conferences at Tilsit, the station of Tenedos, before the Strait of the Dardanelles. After having stopped some time at Corfu, it was returning to the Baltic, when the news of the impending rupture between England and Russia surprised it on its way. Vice-admiral Siniavin, its commander, succeeded in reaching the mouth of the Tagus before the English had taken their station there. On the 11th and 12th of November his ships entered the harbour of Lisbon; and when General Junot arrived, a few days subsequently, they were moored in order of battle behind the bar.

Between the French and the Russians there was a point of contact, but no community of interest and of glory. Siniavin was a Muscovite of the old stamp, who spoke no language but that of his country. His officers loudly censured what they called the infatuation of their Emperor for Napoleon. In their opinion the rupture with England was only a slight cloud, which a wiser policy would soon dissipate. From all this, Junot might easily foresee what reliance, in the hour of danger, could be placed on the fidelity of such allies. The coincidence of the appearance of a Russian fleet with the irruption of the French, was, however advantageous to



the latter in several respects. It was for a long while believed, even in Portugal, that Admiral Siniavin had come to aid the projects of Napoleon.

A few days before the invasion took place, the Portuguese regular troops, and the militia which the generals had raised in different parts of the kingdom, amounted to an effective force of six and thirty thousand men ready for action. In less than a month, this number was reduced more than one half, at first by desertion, and afterwards by the disbanding of the militia, and the profusion with which furloughs were granted to the troops of the line. There was no part of it preserved entire except the police guard, which, under the orders of the Count de Novion, a French emigrant, continued to do the duty of the city of Lisbon. What remained of the regiments of infantry and cavalry was dispersed in the provinces. The Portuguese horses were given to the French dragoons to remount them. The artillery reorganized its train and equipments. The equipments and arming of the troops were renewed. The pay was provided for by a loan of two millions of cruzados (five millions of francs), which was raised by the council of the government. Ten thousand barrels of flour were purchased at Cadiz, to provision the forts on the Tagus and the vessels, and to make a reserve of five hundred thousand rations of biscuit. The daily subsistence was secured, without its being necessary to resort to any extraordinary measure.

At this epoch the ties which had existed between the house of Braganza and Portugal were broken. The fidelity of the subjects had not failed to the blood of their Prince; it was quite the contrary. The royal family had deserted, and left them defenceless, in the midst of the danger. The court, and the fifteen thousand emigrants who followed it, had carried off with them more than half the circulating specie of the kingdom; for every one, in departing never to return, converted every thing that he possibly could into money. It was the general belief, that the counsellors of the government, foreseeing the catastrophe, had for many years been amassing specie in the private coffers of the Regent. On the day that he departed, there was no more than ten thousand cruzadoes in the public treasury. The paper money was depreciated thirty per cent; the officers of the army had not received any pay for three months; the interest of the public debt was six months in arrear, and more than a year's salary was owing to the civil establishment, clerks, and judges.

The discontent which was felt against the fugitive government might, it was obvious, be turned to the advantage of the new power. Cardinal Mendoça, the Patriarch of Lisbon,\* was the first to celebrate *the man whom past ages could not have foreseen, the man of prodigies, the great Emperor, whom God had*

\* See Notes and Illustrations, No. XI. at the end of this volume.

*called to establish the happiness of nations.* Responsive to the revered voice of this ecclesiastical prince, the bishops, in their charges, and the magistrates, in their edicts, vied with each other in recommending, as a civil and religious duty, a kind reception to the French, and obedience to their general.\*

At the outset, this was not a difficult duty to perform; the concentration of the troops within a circle of some miles round Lisbon, by making it more easy for the officers to superintend them, tended to diminish the effect that might be produced by the overbearing habits which are contracted by soldiers who are constantly victorious. Headstrong and erratic while in the mountains of Beira, the army, under a serene sky and at rest, recovered that mild sociability which distinguishes the French beyond all other people. The officers were lodged in the houses of the rich, and the

\* Don José Maria De Mello, late Bishop of the Algarves, and Inquisitor-general of the kingdom, issued, in the latter capacity, a charge, drawn up in the same spirit as that of the Patriarch. This language was the more remarkable from his lips, because he had always been heard to profess principles diametrically opposite. The public accused this bishop of having contributed to alienate the senses of the queen, whose confessor he was, by filling her head with fears and superstitions. It was not his fault if the system of *autos da fé* was not renewed under the reign of his august penitent. At the beginning of the revolution, he seriously proposed that the French nation should be excommunicated *en masse* by the dignified clergy!



soldiers shared, in the villages, the abode of the substantial peasant. Of all foreigners, the French are those with whom the Portuguese harmonize the best. Besides, the changes which had taken place were in conformity to the will of God. Bandarra, the Nostradamus of the Portuguese, had predicted them. Was there not to be read, in his prophetic quatrains, the triumph of the imperial eagle and the exaltation of Napoleon ?\*

\* Gonçalo Annes Bandarra was a poor cobbler of the little town of Trancozo, in the bishopric of Guarda, in Portugal. About the year 1540, he composed prophecies which were, and indeed still are, in great repute in the country, as well among the literate as the illiterate. The rhimed quatrains (*trovas*) of Bandarra have been often printed; the last time was at *Barcelona*, in 1809. As in all other writings of the same kind, almost every thing you please may be discovered in them. When the French entered Lisbon in 1807, credulous people maintained that this event had been predicted in them; they even found the precise indication of the imperial power, and of the first letter, N, of Napoleon's name, in the two following quatrains, which are the seventeenth and eighteenth of the third prophetic dream:—

Ergue se a Águia imperial  
Com os seus filhos ao rabo,  
E com as unhas no cabo  
Faz o ninho em Portugal.

Poe um A pernas acima,  
Tira lhe a risco de meio,  
E por detraz lha arrima,  
Saberas quem te nomeio.

The French and Spanish commanders-in-chief were ordered by their governments not to divulge the treaty of Fontainebleau. Don Francisco Tarranco, however, insinuated to the magistrates of Oporto, that their province was, thenceforth, to consider itself as forming a part of the Spanish monarchy. At Setubal, Solano went still farther: in the public acts, he substituted the name of the King of Spain in the place of the Prince Regent's: he created a grand-judge and a superintendent of finances, and these two offices were conferred upon Spanish subjects. Solano possessed the entire confidence of the Prince of the Peace; and it was believed, that he would not have made these precipitate innovations, had he not received the orders of his superiors. The destined sovereign of the Algarves was so eager to reign on his own account, that, if the reports of the time may be credited, full piastres (*pesos duros*) were coined at the Madrid mint, bearing on the one side the head of Godoy, with the

See the imperial eagle rise!

With his eaglets on he flies;

And, by his talons' powerful aid,

His nest in Portugal is made.

Invert in air the letter A,

Then take its middle bar away;

Link to its left the bar, and, lo!

Whom 'tis I mean, thou then wilt know.

legend, *Emmanuel Primus Algarviorum Dux*, and on the other the arms of the kingdom of the Algarves.

At Lisbon, on the contrary, General Junot allowed the Council of governors of the kingdom to continue as the Prince had established it; but he gave a place in its deliberations, with the title of Imperial Commissary and administrator-general of the finances, to the Consul Herman, whose probity and habits of business made him esteemed by the Portuguese. The public chests were not seized; the interest of the debt and the current salaries were paid; and the effect of this was, that the value of the paper-money rose twelve per cent. There was at first no remarkable variation in the price of commodities; the acts relative to the higher police, the confiscation of English property, and the financial administration of the army, were the only ones which emanated directly from the military authority; every thing else was done by the civil magistrates. The tumult of the 13th of December was nothing more than a transient cloud, and the hoisting of the French flag in the fortresses was looked upon as merely a conventional sign, intended to assert the military occupation. The internal government of the country had not undergone any change; and, as the governors of the kingdom exercised an authority which was delegated to them by



the natural prince, the edifice of the Portuguese monarchy appeared to be still standing.

This state of things, however, was not to last long. Napoleon had received the news of the entrance of his army into Lisbon while he was in the heart of Italy. An imperial decree, issued at Milan, on the 23rd of December, 1807,\* condemned the Portuguese to pay to France a contribution of a hundred million of francs as the ransom of private property. The General-in-chief was directed to govern the kingdom as sole ruler, and in the Emperor's name. He was also ordered to despatch the Portuguese troops to France, with as little delay as possible; and at the same time the Corps of Observation of the Gironde took the name of the Army of Portugal.

On the 1st of February, 1808, amidst volleys of artillery on sea and land, and with almost regal pomp, Junot proceeded to the palace of the Inquisition, where the council of governors of the kingdom was sitting. The whole of the army stationed in Lisbon was under arms, to preserve the public tranquillity, as well as to render the solemnity more splendid. In a studied harangue, the French general informed the members of the council that their functions were at an end, and that to him alone would thenceforth belong the care of making the

\* See Notes and Illustrations, No. XII. at the end of this volume.

Portuguese happy. Some of the suppressed governors were nominated to fill secondary offices in the administration: Luuyt, a late directing commissary of the French armies, was appointed secretary of state in the war and naval departments; the imperial commissioner, Herman, had the home and financial departments; the superintendence of the police, which Pombal's legislation had made of more consequence than any other branch of the ministry, was reserved for Lagarde, a Frenchman, whom the Emperor sent from Italy;\* Viennot

\* As soon as he entered on his office, Lagarde applied himself to securing the salubrity of the city of Lisbon. He succeeded in accomplishing the removal of those mountains of filth and mud with which the streets had been obstructed, ever since the earthquake. He was less successful when he undertook to exterminate the troops of starved and wandering dogs, which gave to the Portuguese capital the aspect of an oriental city. The war against the dogs was superlatively unpopular; and the French police was almost as hateful to the Portuguese for the reforms which it introduced, as for the persecution with which it threatened them. The new intendant of police gave to the government of Junot a prompt and vigorous character, which had always before been wanting to the acts of the civil power. The inhabitants of Lisbon were less afraid of the decrees of the General-in-chief, than of the police orders which explained those decrees, and settled the mode of carrying them into effect. The palace of the Inquisition, where the police ministry sat, was looked on by them with more terror than they were accustomed to feel at the period when religious fanaticism heaped together its victims in that edifice. If the sublimest effort of police

Vaublanc, inspector of reviews, was the government secretary. For the provinces new magistrates were created, under the title of *corregidores mors*; Pepin de Belle-Isle, Taboureaux, and Lafont, three auditors of the council of state, were sent in this capacity to Abrantes, Oporto, and Setubal; Goguet, another Frenchman, was placed in the Algarves; José Pedro Quintella, a Portuguese, was chosen to hold this office at Coimbra. Without having any precisely defined functions, the *corregidores mors* were to centralize and give unity of action to the administration.

The people were apprised of the new order of things by a verbose proclamation;\* the General-in-chief promised high roads, canals, a better system of governing, and the benefit of public instruction more widely diffused. "Algarve and Upper Beira," said he, "will also one day have their Camoëns; the religion of your forefathers, the same which we profess, will be protected and purified; justice will be

genius be to terrify always and never to strike, Lagarde may pride himself on having been a consummate master of his science; for under the most difficult circumstances, he never ceased to be indulgent and humane; his dreadful sway was confined to arresting and detaining some public disturbers of a contemptible kind, who would have been more rigorously treated had they been given up to the mercy of the military authorities.

\* See Notes and Illustrations, No. XIII. at the end of this volume.



administered conformably to the interests of society ; an active police will deliver the citizens from evil-disposed characters and vagabonds ; the Portuguese warriors will soon form only one family with the heroes of Marengo, Austerlitz, and Jena."

The ensigns of the invaded kingdom now entirely disappeared ; the eagles of Napoleon assumed, on the public monuments, the place of the Portuguese *quinas* ;\* the tribunals performed their judicial duties

\* *Quinas* is the name of the Portuguese arms. Their origin dates as far back as the establishment of the monarchy : that is to say, from the battle of Campo de Ourique.

The following is the manner in which the historian Laclede narrates the miraculous circumstances of this event, which he drew from the ancient chronicles :—

" On the eve of the battle of Ourique, in 1139, Don Alphonso Henriquez, then Prince of Portugal, who had to fight with five Moorish princes, was in his tent, engaged in reading the Bible ; he was perusing the story of Gideon, in the book of Judges, when he sank into a slumber. He had scarcely closed his eyes before he thought he saw a venerable old man, who promised him victory. At that moment, Don Ferdinand de Souza, his high-chamberlain, entered the tent, to tell him that an extremely old man wished to speak with him. Alphonso ordered him to be introduced, and at the sight of him seemed to be struck with astonishment. This man resembled the person who had appeared to him in his dream.

" ' I am,' said he, as he approached, ' a sinner, who have done penance for sixty years on the neighbouring mountain. God has commanded me to announce to you the victory which awaits you to-morrow. Put all your trust in him. When you shall

in the Emperor's name. All the natives were removed from the higher financial situations. To raise a contribution of a hundred millions of francs from a population of two millions of souls, stripped of colonies and foreign commerce, its only sources of wealth, it was necessary to descend to the husband-

hear a bell, then quit your tent, and you will see what Heaven will do for you." Having thus spoken, he departed, leaving Alphonso disturbed and astonished.

"At midnight the bell sounded: Alphonso quitted his tent, knelt towards the east, perceived in the midst of a dazzling light, a large cross, with these words, *In hoc signo vinces*; and heard a prophetic voice, which promised that his empire should last until the sixteenth generation, at the end of which his race should be nearly extinct.

"On the morrow, encouraged by this miraculous sign, the troops of Alphonso fought so bravely in the plains of Ourique, that they defeated the five Moorish Kings. In commemoration of this success, the prince took for his arms the five shields of these princes, of which he composed his escutcheon, arranging them in the form of a cross, and in the centre of each shield he placed five silver besants."

The people discover others mysterious allusions in these arms. The five shields are also an emblem of the five wounds of Christ, and the twenty-five besants, added to the five shields, refer to the thirty pieces of silver, the price at which the traitor Judas sold Christ to his enemies.

The seven towers, figured round the escutcheon, represent the seven fortresses of the kingdom of the Algarves, when that state was united to the crown of Portugal, by the marriage of Beatrice, daughter of the King of Spain, with Don Alphonzo III. in 1253.

man and the mechanic ; it was necessary even to lay hands on the most sacred objects of public veneration, by seizing the church plate.

The Portuguese were deeply afflicted : nor were they so merely from the enormous burden which was laid upon them ; they were still more indignant that they should be obliged to ransom their properties ; they, who had received the French as friends. Some began to regret the race of their kings, which they believed to be lost for ever. All wept the Portuguese name, which seemed to be destroyed. The French authority could obtain nothing more than official congratulations ; in vain did it go a begging for the external signs of joy, which are almost always to be easily procured from the corrupt portions of the populace of a great city. In all Lisbon not more than three inhabitants could be found who would illuminate the fronts of their houses, to celebrate the changes which were brought about on the 1st of February.

Out of the capital, the new government was inaugurated under the most sinister auspices. A townsman of Mafra was condemned to death by a military commission, and was executed, for uttering invectives against the French army. A few days afterwards, a scuffle which took place in the small town of Caldas da Rainha, between a detachment of the 58th regiment and some soldiers of the second Oporto regiment, was falsely represented to the Ge-



neral-in-chief as a premeditated revolt, in which the country people had taken a part. The regiment of Oporto was broken and disbanded in a disgraceful manner. Six inhabitants of Caldas were shot, with a solemnity of preparation and display, which had a more painful effect on Portuguese imaginations than would have been caused by the tumultuous massacre of a whole district.

This was a warning to hasten the execution of the Emperor's orders with respect to the remains of the Portuguese army, and also to remove to a distance those individuals who, from their situation in society, could have the most influence over the nation. The latter were selected to proceed to France, for the purpose of meeting the Emperor, who, it was said, was soon to visit Spain and Portugal.

The thirty-seven regiments of horse and foot were reduced to six regiments of infantry, three of cavalry, and a light battalion and squadron. In the corps there were hardly soldiers enough remaining to complete the new arrangements. It was the Marquis d'Alorne who organized this small army of eight or ten thousand men, and to him also was given the command of it. The finishing of this task was not waited for to put the columns in motion. The first of them set off at the beginning of March for Valladolid, whence their march was directed on Bayonne. More than half the officers of the old army, and particularly those who belonged to the northern pro-

vinces, returned home, some because they could not obtain employment, others, because they would not accept it.

Among the officers who marched were those whose military characters stood highest: such were Lieutenant-general Gomez Freyre, Brigadiers Pamplona and Manuel de Souza, and Colonel Condido José Xavier. The Marquisses of Ponte de Lima, Valença, and Loulé, the Counts of Sabugal and Saint Michael, and many other fidalgoes of the highest rank, were superior officers of the regiments. Like the most elevated class of nobility in the other continental states, they were ambitious of the honour of serving under the banners of the Emperor Napoleon. The soldiers were far from displaying so much zeal, and it required nothing less than the name and authority of the Marquis d'Alorne to induce them to set out. More than two thousand of them, among whom were some of even the inferior officers, deserted in passing through Spain.\*

\* When the Portuguese troops began their march, they were between eight and nine thousand strong. More than four thousand, among whom were officers, escaped in passing through Spain, and returned home. Five or six hundred remained in the hospitals. Some were killed at the first siege of Saragossa. Only three thousand two hundred and forty soldiers arrived at Bayonne. Napoleon reviewed them, and said to Prince Wolkonaki, the Emperor of Russia's aide-de-camp, who had been sent on a mission to him—"These are natives of the south; they have energetic feelings; I shall make excellent in-

The English carried on war against the French army in Portugal, rather by receiving on board their ships, and encouraging by their emissaries, the malcontents of the country, than by the use of open force. Nevertheless, in the beginning of January,

fantry of them." A legion was formed of the Portuguese troops. General Junot was ordered to collect the deserters, and to send soldiers of the country, to complete it. This order, however, was not executed. Natives not being to be had, the legion was made up from the depôts of Spanish prisoners. Repeated change was made in its organization, till the month of November, 1813, when an imperial decree directed the disarming of all the foreign troops who were in the Grand Army, with the exception of the Poles.

The Portuguese legion was never employed altogether, but it served by detachments. Two battalions covered themselves with glory on the eve and on the day of the battle of Wagram, in the division commanded by General Oudinot. A regiment distinguished itself at the battle of Smolensko. The natives of the torrid hills of Alemtejo and Estremadura were numerous among those unfortunate beings who perished frozen amidst the ices of Moscow. These foreigners, thrown by chance under the standard of Napoleon, took as their motto—

*Vadimus immixti Danaïs, haud numine nostro.*

Wherever they went, however, they deserved the esteem of their comrades in arms. The Emperor took good care not to send them to the Peninsula. Only a few officers received this destination, and it was without its having been sought by them; and they did all in their power to mitigate the calamities which war inflicted on the country. The French generals had the delicacy to abstain from employing them, on occasions in which they must have fought against their countrymen.



1808, Admiral Cotton carried off a detachment of Portuguese invalids which garrisoned the Burlings, several fortified islets, which lie off Peniche, at four leagues distance: in their place he established a post of marines. A short time after this, a cutter, which had heard that the Russian fleet intended to set sail, reconnoitred the entrance of the Tagus. Under cover of the night it surprised a gun-boat, which the French had fitted out for the protection of the fishery. On the 3d of March, at nine in the evening, two brigs and some boats filled with soldiers, made an attempt to carry by escalade the Fort of Bugio; they were discovered in time, and the cannon of the fort compelled them to retreat. The English were not more successful, on the night of the 22d of April, in their attack on the corvette *La Gavotte*, commanded by Lieutenant Leblond-Plassan. Five boats endeavoured to carry the corvette by boarding, but were repulsed, with the loss of their commander and several marines and seamen, who were killed in the rigging and on the deck of the corvette.\* Ever after that period the French ships which guarded the passes, were surrounded at night by a netting, which rose eight feet above the deck. General Junot would have been delighted to repay the English in another man-

\* See Notes and Illustrations, No. XIV. at the end of this volume.

ner. More than once, he pressed Admiral Siniavin, whose fleet was stronger than that of Admiral Cotton, to quit the Tagus with some ships; but it was all in vain. Neither for the purposes of attack nor of defence, could the French reckon upon the aid of any force but their own.

The Spaniards, too, were in reality now allies only in name. We shall relate, farther on, the events which, within three months, had happened in Spain, and during the time had exercised a reaction on Portugal. For the present it is sufficient to state, that early in the month of March, the Court of Madrid recalled the divisions of its army which were stationed in that country. This gave rise to some displacement of the French troops. General Quesnel was sent from the head-quarters at Lisbon to Oporto, to command in the northern provinces, but took no troops with him. The battalion of the twenty-sixth regiment of infantry, the Piedmontese legion of the south, a company of artillery, and a squadron of dragoons, marched, under Brigadier-general Maurin, to guard the coasts of the kingdom of the Algarves. A Swiss battalion was despatched to Elvas, and Colonel Miguel was appointed governor of that fortress. Other French troops were distributed in Alemtejo, and in that part of Portuguese Estremadura, which is on the left bank of the Tagus. General Kellerman took the command of them, and fixed himself at Setubal.

Before the end of the month, however, the Spanish troops received counter-orders. Those which had moved on Galicia from the north of Portugal, had already begun to pass the Minho; they returned to Oporto; and as their general, Don Francisco de Taranco, died on the 18th of January, Junot did not hesitate to place General Quesnel at the head of this army of ten thousand foreigners. He gave him instructions to keep down the Portuguese population by means of the Spanish soldiers, and, in case of need, to make use of that population against the Spanish troops.

The division of Don Juan Caraffa had not yet stirred from its cantonments in the neighbourhood of Lisbon, while, on the contrary, the corps of Solano had already withdrawn into Spanish Estremadura. The latter general wrote from Badajoz that he was ready to return; Junot, however, dispensed with his doing so, and merely asked him for four battalions, which he stationed at Setubal, under the French Brigadier-general Graindorge. Kellerman was ordered to remove his head-quarters to Elvas, that he might there keep an unsuspected watch on the measures of Solano, and the movements of his division. This distrust of the Spanish generals and soldiers, which was felt by the French, continued to increase throughout the months of April and May.

Previously, and as long as a good understanding appeared to be kept up between the cabinets of



Paris and Madrid, the treaty of Fontainebleau was supposed to be in force; and though the military leaders were bound to keep it secret till its entire accomplishment, yet enough had transpired to the public to render it nowise doubtful what was the fate reserved for Portugal by France and Spain united; but the imperial decree of the 27th of December, 1807, thoroughly oppressive as it was, at least contained within it a reparatory principle. From the government of the kingdom being concentrated in the hands of the French general, the conclusion was hastily drawn, that Portugal would neither be rent into fragments, nor reduced to the humiliation of becoming once more a Spanish province.

A report was soon spread among the Portuguese, that their monarchy was about to revive, under a monarch chosen by Napoleon. Some affirmed that this king would be Lucien Bonaparte, who had gone from Rome to Mantua, to have a conference there with his brother the Emperor, on the evening of the day before the decree was issued at Milan. Others designated Prince Eugene, viceroy of Italy, several of whose aides-de-camp had successively visited the army of Portugal, and had collected information with respect to the statistics of the country and the dispositions of its inhabitants. General Lannes was also named, in consequence of the *éclat* derived from his embassy, and his long

familiarity with the Prince Regent. Lastly, the name of Junot was pronounced by some, because he was already governor-general, because the feelings of the people of Lisbon towards him more nearly resembled kindness than hatred, and, especially, because, in the recent distribution of imperial titles, Napoleon had created him Duke of Abrantes. The title was Portuguese, and people were yet far from having any fixed ideas as to the extent to which it was intended to carry this institution of new duchies. It was reported, likewise, that the division under the Marquis d'Alorne would return to the country as soon as the sovereign should be proclaimed.

These floating and uncertain reports received a sort of official confirmation. The deputation sent from Lisbon to compliment the Emperor, was presented to that Prince at Bayonne. "Do you wish to be Spaniards?" said he to them, and instantly the blush of indignation overspread their faces. To this unexpected enquiry succeeded other abrupt questions, so rapidly put that there was no time to interpose an answer.\* The subversion of Spain was

\* M. de Pradt, who, in 1808, was Bishop of Poitiers, and almoner of the Emperor Napoleon, was present at the audience given to the Portuguese deputies by that prince. In his *Historical Memoirs relative to the Spanish Revolution*, he has described some particulars which are worthy of finding a place here.

"The Portuguese deputation waited for the Emperor at

as yet only sketched out. Napoleon had not present any combinations formed relative to the

Bayonne, and was presented to him a few hours after his arrival. At its head was the Count de Lima, who had been ambassador at Paris, and had gone much into society. Napoleon did not wait for this president to pronounce a speech, as was usual on such occasions; but, either from the Count delaying to speak what he had prepared, or from the natural impatience of Napoleon, he opened the conference in a very singular manner. After some of the common forms of politeness, he said, addressing himself to the deputies, 'I do not know what I shall do with you; that will depend upon what is about to take place in the South. Besides, are you in a situation to constitute a people? Have you sufficient magnitude for that? You are deserted by your prince; he has made the English take him to Brazil. He has committed a great folly in doing this, and I will repent it.' Then, turning towards me, he added, very gaily, 'It is the same with princes as with bishops, they ought to be resident.' Addressing himself next to the Count de Lima, he asked him what was the population of Portugal, and joined instantly the reply to the question, as was often the case with him, and is the case with all persons who answer their own ideas; he said 'two millions?'—'More than three,' replied the Count. 'Ah! I didn't know that,' exclaimed Napoleon. 'And Lisbon has it a hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants?'—'More than double that,' said the Count de Lima.—'Ah! I did not know that,' again exclaimed Napoleon. Other questions and answers were interchanged with the same difference of opinion and valuation; and, after one 'I didn't know that,' had followed another for some time, he chanced to ask the Count de Lima, 'What is it you Portuguese want? Will you become Spaniards?' On these words being spoken, I saw the Count de Lima raising himself to ten feet high, steadying himself firmly in his position, laying his hand on the hilt of his sword, and, with a voice that shook



people of the Peninsula; it therefore did not suit him to enter into any engagements.

Men who have the misfortune to be shipwrecked, snatch eagerly at the weakest plank, in the hope of escaping from ruin. The Emperor had been affable; his affability was construed into kindness. He had allowed it to be hoped that the war contribution should be lessened. His abrupt and broken sentences were made the ground-work of an address from the deputies to their fellow-countrymen.

Those by whom this letter was written were not obscure or ambiguous characters. It was signed by the Grand Inquisitor of the kingdom, by the Bishop of Coimbra, by the Marquis of Abrantes, president of the government which the Prince Regent instituted, by Don Nunho Alvares Pereyra de Mello, allied in blood to the house of Braganza, and by the most considerable personages of the state. They and the others looked upon themselves as absolved from their oaths to their late sovereign. They submitted themselves to the omnipotence of Napoleon. Kings and Emperors had submitted themselves in the same manner.

The address of the Deputies afforded high gratification, which was felt even more strongly in the

the apartments, replying, 'No!' The ancient Portuguese heroes could not have said it better."

\* See Notes and Illustrations, No. XV. at the end of this volume.

provinces than at Lisbon. Every body immediately looked upon the resurrection of Portugal as certain and nigh at hand. Towns, and even villages, celebrated it by illuminations and bonfires. That was the moment to have won the hearts of the Portuguese, and attach them to the cause of France. Then ought to have been obliterated even the memory of that war contribution, which was to produce more hatred than profit ; then ought to have been raised once more the banners and trophies of the monarchy, which the Emperor Napoleon had never given orders to overthrow. The Portuguese are proud of their ancient glory ; they blush that they have fallen so low ; and they are convinced that their country still possesses all the elements of prosperity and greatness. Then they ought to have been told, and it would have been strictly true, that they had not been vanquished ; that they had ceased to be an independent nation only because a series of worthless kings had allowed the ancient laws to sink into desuetude, and had disowned and trodden under foot the rights of the people. Then ought frankly to have been manifested the intention of substituting, in every pursuit and profession, instead of the oligarchy of the fidalgoes and monks, the influence of men praiseworthy for their talents and the nobleness of their sentiments. In a word, then ought an appeal to have been made to enlightened reason and generous

That appeal would not have been made in vain. If at Lisbon and Oporto some pecuniary interests were for the moment injured by the Continental system, at least the agricultural population was no sufferer by it. There was a dislike to becoming a colony to Brazil. The provincial nobility, wedded to the soil, held the emigrants in contempt, and claimed to be the principal column of the state, far more than the nobility of the anti-chamber and the court. Philosophical ideas, imperfectly repressed by the police, and propagated in secret societies, were fermenting in the heads of the youth, and among the inhabitants of the cities. There does not exist in the peninsula a more extensive establishment for public instruction than the University of Coimbra. In its schools, and by its professors, are formed, for all Portugal, the judges, the administrators, the barristers, the physicians, the men of learning. The University of Coimbra was no less zealous than the German universities, against the superstition which withers the soul, against the despotism which destroys courage. All were ripe for political changes. The seeds of improvement, which were everywhere disseminated, only waited for the vivifying breath to awaken them into life.

The new Duke of Abrantes was perfectly convinced of this general feeling; but he had not dared to encourage it without the express orders of the Emperor. It was, besides, an arduous enterprise to



renovate the destinies of a people. Junot was born with a talent for observation. In every question his piercing glance saw instantaneously where the difficulty lay. All the good that a sudden inspiration could produce might be expected from him ; but nothing of that for which a methodical and continuous system of conduct is required. All his valuable qualities were stifled by a fiery temper, habits of dissipation, and such an obstinate aversion to labour, that it palsied the exertions of those to whom he delegated some portions of his power.

The Emperor, however, although he occasioned the letter of the Portuguese deputation, had not let fall a word which could give an idea of the person on whose head the crown of Portugal was to fall, and, consequently, the field was left open to all pretenders. In the management of political affairs Junot sometimes took the advice of old José de Scabra, who had been a minister under three reigns, and who, having been a pupil of Pombal's school, still remained the inveterate enemy, not of despotism, but of ignoble and clumsy despots. In the superannuated institutions of the monarchy, Scabra sought for forms which might be resorted to under the present circumstances. At his instigation the nobility, the clergy, the *desembargo do paço*, which was the highest court of justice in the kingdom, and the *senado da camera*, or municipal council of Lisbon, requested that the Duke of Abrantes would take legal steps to

ascertain the wishes of the Portuguese nation. The convoking of the Cortes would have produced a degree of excitement which the French general wished to avoid. In their place, therefore, the junta of the three estates was summoned. This is an administrative commission, which the Cortes were accustomed to choose from among themselves, to control, during the interval between the sessions, the expenditure of the sums which they had voted. In fact, the commission was extinct, there having, for more than two centuries, been no constituents; but the name had been preserved, and this pretended junta was become a committee of sinecures, of which the Crown disposed in favour of some privileged courtiers. In consequence of the dispersion of the higher classes of nobility, there were only three members of the junta remaining at Lisbon in the month of April 1808; namely, Don Laurenço, Count of Almada, Ayrés de Saldanha, Count of Ega, and Pedro de Mello da Cunha, Count of Castro Marim, son of the Great Huntsman of the kingdom. The General-in-chief directed that there should be added to them twelve deputies, chosen from the three orders. This assembly drew up a humble petition, by which they solicited the honour of being included in the number of the faithful subjects of the Emperor Napoleon; declaring that, in case his Imperial Majesty should think that their geographical situation, or some political motives, would not admit of

*the Portuguese being under his immediate sway, they would venture to request from him a prince of his own choice, to whom they would, with equal respect and confidence, entrust the defence of the laws, the rights, the religion, and the most sacred interests of the country.\**

Both the form and the substance of this address excited disgust in the enlightened part of the nation. All minds were not prostrated by fear. Napoleon had recently given to the Grand Duchy of Warsaw a government founded on the principles of liberty and justice. Some Portuguese patriots thought they were justified in hoping a similar benefit for their own country. Three among them, the desembarcador† Francisco-Duarte Coelho, Doctor Ricardo-Raymundo Nogueira, rector of the college of nobles,‡ and the canon Simão de Cordès Brandão, professor of the law of nature and nations, in the university of Coimbra, drew up in secret the project of a constitution adapted to the manners and the local circumstances of Portugal.§

\* See Notes and Illustrations, No. XVI. at the end of this volume.

† *Desembarcador*, literally *clearers away*, is the name given in Portugal to judges of the superior courts.

‡ At a subsequent period, and under English influence, Doctor Ricardo-Raymundo Nogueira was a member of the Portuguese regency.

§ See Notes and Illustrations, No. XVII. at the end of this volume.



When this work was completed, it was necessary to give it publicity. The champions of absolute power had backed their proceedings by a vain phantom of national representation. The partisans of the reform of abuses also sought in the institutions of the monarchy for a name which might be opposed to a name. Now, from time immemorial, there has existed in Lisbon, and in the principal cities of Portugal, a popular magistracy, formed of twenty-four citizens of irreproachable character. Every year, the twenty-four who are in office nominate, from among the corporations of arts and trades, the twenty-four individuals who are to succeed them in the ensuing year. At the head of this democratic council is a plain artisan, with the title of Judge of the people. When the vessel of the state is sailing on a quiet sea, the authority of the judge of the people is circumscribed within a sphere far beneath that in which move the mighty of the earth; but in tempestuous seasons he becomes a tribune, to whom the monarch listens, and the voice of the free man then makes courtiers and ministers tremble. In the seventeenth century, he was seen to stop John the Fourth, by seizing the bridle of his horse, and to tell him, that the nation had not placed him on the throne to indulge his taste for hunting and dissipated amusements, but to watch and to toil for the people. Under the reign of the Sixth Alphonso, an energetic remonstrance from this magis-

trate preserved to Portugal the sword of an artious foreigner, Schomberg, whom court intr were endeavouring to expel from the kingdom. a subsequent period, his intervention was nece to wrest the crown from the same Alphonso, a surd and frantic prince, and to place it on a more capable of wearing it.

Jose de Abréo Campor, a cooper by trade, in the year 1808, held at Lisbon the office of of the people, was not unworthy of his predece Sound sense and ardent patriotism were better visers to him than the false science of those deemed themselves his superiors in talent. He never been seen, like the nobles, and like the tions of the Prince, crowding to the entertain given by the foreigner, and celebrating the vi of a conqueror who was burthening the king with war contributions. When the Portuguese nas were effaced from the public monuments, he sisted upon retaining them on the staff (*la a* which in the Peninsula is the emblem of power; contending, and with justice, that they not the arms of the house of Braganza, but o Portuguese nation.

Such was the man to whom the friends of li had recourse. They circulated among the p the plan of a constitution which they had ma in silence. Jose de Abréo Campos took unde protection an act in which were consecrated equ

of rights, the liberty of the press, religious toleration, and a share of the legislative power to the representatives of the people. When the junta of the three estates summoned him, as well as the clergy, the nobility, and the judges, to sign their petition to the Emperor, he solemnly protested against that act of meanness, and against the legal competence of those by whom it was drawn up. He presented the constitution under the form of an address to the Emperor, and as applicable to the wants of the people; referring every thing farther, however, to the will of the nation, to be expressed when it was assembled in Cortes.


This cry of liberty shocked the ears of the Duke of Abrantes. Not satisfied with refusing his sanction to ideas which were in opposition to the imperial system, to those who had dared to promulgate them he gave the name of intermeddlers and factious, quite forgetting, at the same time, that he himself was the child of a revolution. Jose de Abréo Campos was sent for to head-quarters, and received a severe reprimand, which converted him into a bitter enemy of the French.

The literary men, who were suspected of having assisted in forming the plan of a constitution, were banished from Lisbon. The address of the junta, provided with the signature of the judge of the people, which was extorted by threats, was formally and duly declared to contain the free and sponta-



neous wish of the clergy, nobility, and third estate of Portugal. Jose Sebastião de Saldanha, a fidalgo, took upon himself the office of carrying it to the Emperor, but at the moment fixed for his departure the communication with Spain was already interrupted. Jose Sebastião therefore returned to Lisbon, and informed his employers that he had not been able to proceed farther than Ciudad Rodrigo. The Portuguese awaited another futurity.

We have dwelt upon the various shades and changes of public opinion. During this ultra Pyrenean war, the people were constantly despised, and it was thought practicable to bend them under the yoke of brute force. The order of events now leads us to a more extensive field, in which the faults that we have pointed out, and others still worse, paved the way for endless misfortunes. Henceforth the campaigns of Portugal will appear only as episodes in the narrative of the Peninsular war. The first corps of observation of the Gironde was the advanced guard of the French armies. The main body followed it. We shall now proceed to describe in what manner a complete subversion was effected by its presence in Spain.



## **BOOK III.**

### **THE INVASION OF SPAIN.**

Formation of the second Corps of Observation of the Gironde and its entrance into Spain.—Formation, and entrance into Spain, of the Corps of Observation of the Coasts of the Ocean.—Formation of the Corps of Observation of the Eastern Pyrenees.—Part of the Conscription of 1809 called out.—Occupation of Catalonia, and the taking by surprise the Forts of Barcelona, of San Fernando de Figueras, and the Citadel of Pampeluna.—Formation of the Army of the Western Pyrenees.—Reflections on the composition of the French armies in the Peninsula.—Arrival of the Grand-duke of Berg, appointed Lieutenant of the Emperor.—View of the Courts of Spain.—Conspiracy of the Escorial.—Journey of Napoleon to Italy.—Anxiety of the Prince of the Peace, and of the Court of Spain.—Tumultuary proceedings at Aranjuez, and abdication of Charles IV.—March of the French army toward Madrid.—Entrance of Ferdinand VII. into Madrid.—Reflections on the successive plans of the Emperor relative to Spain.—Connection between the old and new Courts and the Grand-duke of Berg.—Departure of Ferdinand VII for Bayonne.—Departure of the Prince of the Peace and the old Sovereigns.—Conferences at Bayonne.—State of public feeling in Spain.—Riot at Toledo.—Events of the 2d of May at Madrid.—The Grand-duke of Berg nominated Lieutenant-general of the kingdom.—Proceedings at Bayonne.



## BOOK III.

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### THE INVASION OF SPAIN.

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**AFTER** the treaty of Fontainebleau, the Pyrenees ceased to exist. The sixth article of the secret convention, signed on the 27th of October, 1807, by Duroc and Izquierdo, stipulated "that a corps of forty thousand French troops should be assembled at Bayonne, by the 20th of November at the latest, to be ready to enter Spain, for the purpose of marching into Portugal, in case the English should send reinforcements there, or should threaten it with an attack. The new corps, however, was not to commence its march till the two high contracting parties were mutually agreed on that point." Now England perpetually threatens Portugal, in this sense, that, being mistress of the sea by means of her three hundred ships of war and her two hundred thousand sailors, she becomes, whenever she chooses it, a frontier state to every power possessed of sea-coasts, and makes herself dreaded even when her squadrons are absent.

While the first corps of observation of the Gironde was passing through Spain, the second was assembling at Bayonne, to the number of twenty-four thousand foot, three thousand five hundred horse, and thirty-eight pieces of artillery. Almost the whole of the infantry consisted of legions of reserve; this was the name given to new corps, which general officers, chosen in the senate, had formed, within five months, from the anticipated conscription of the year 1808. The legions of reserve varied from the regiments of the line by some slight shades of difference in their mode of being organized, and in their original purpose, which was confined to guarding the territory of the empire. The cavalry was composed of squadrons taken from the depots of the interior of France, and united in temporary regiments of cuirassiers and chasseurs.

Dupont was appointed to the command-in-chief of this army; he was only a general of division, but he had recently covered himself with glory in the Austrian and Prussian campaigns. At the head of his staff was placed Brigadier-general Legendre. General Barbou quitted the eleventh territorial division, to take the first division of infantry; Vedel and Malher had the two others. The cavalry was entrusted to General Fresia, formerly an officer in the King of Sardinia's service, whom the revolution had thrown into the ranks of the French. Brigadier-general Dabadie commanded the engineers, and

#### ANOTHER CORPS FORMED AT BOURDEAUX. 111

Brigadier-general Simon Faultrier, the artillery, a corps in which his name stood recommended by a hundred and thirty years of hereditary services.

On the 22d of November, 1807, the second corps of observation of the Gironde began to enter Spain. In the month of January 1808, the head-quarters were established at Valladolid, and the divisions were cantoned on the Douro, at a little distance from that city. The General-in-chief had orders to keep detachments at Salamanca, as if to indicate that he intended to advance upon Lisbon. In this position, the troops of Dupont might be considered as the reserve of those by which Portugal was occupied.

Another army was formed on the banks of the Garonne; forty-seven detachments of young infantry soldiers were drawn from the dépôts of the regiments on the northern and eastern frontiers, and sent to Bourdeaux, on carriages provided beforehand at each halting-place. This manner of conveying the troops by post, shortened the road more than one half, and preserved the strength and health of the men. As fast as the detachments arrived, they were formed into temporary regiments of infantry and cavalry, commanded by majors of the line; all these arrangements had been previously settled in the office of the minister for the war department. The temporary regiments were united into brigades and divisions; the same method was



adopted with respect to the cavalry ; the artillery was supplied by the arsenals of Lisle, Metz, and La Fère. This new army, consisting of twenty-five thousand infantry, two thousand seven hundred horse, and forty-one pieces of cannon, was called the corps of observation of the Coasts of the Ocean ; the Emperor confided the command of it to Marshal Moncey, who, twelve years before, had been at the head of the republican armies in Spain.

The van of the column passed the Bidassoa on the 9th of January, and pushed forward as far as the borders of Castile. The troops were spread in the three provinces of Biscay. At the head of Marshal Moncey's staff was Brigadier-general Harispe, his pupil and comrade in arms in the former army of the western Pyrenees. Generals Musnier de la Con-  
verserie, Morlot, and Gobert, commanded the three divisions of infantry ; the cavalry was under the orders of Grouchy, one of the generals of division, who had the most splendid and well deserved reputation. Brigadier-general Couin and Cazan headed the one the artillery, the other, the engineers.


According to the terms of the treaty, these two armies ought not to have been introduced into the Peninsula, till after a special arrangement had been made between the cabinets of Paris and Madrid. The consent of Charles IV. was, however, presumed, because his weakness was known ; the French government did not even take the trouble to notify to

him their march; the number of men which had already passed the Pyrenees much exceeded the forty thousand, stipulated in the sixth article of the secret convention, yet still the movement of troops was uninterruptedly continued, and other dispositions, which were making on the frontiers, and in the interior of France, indicated the existence of vast projects. The third and fourth battalions of those regiments which were serving in Portugal, were at St. Jean-Pied-de Port, ready to penetrate, by the Pass of Roncevalles, into the centre of Navarre. Generals Verdier and Lasalle formed two strong divisions, the one of infantry, at Orleans, the other of cavalry, at Poitiers, constituted of elements similar to those which composed the corps of observation of the Ocean. The force at the camp of Boulogne, and at other stations on the coast, was diminished; the Swiss and foreign regiments which had remained in the old fortresses, the last battalions of the legions of reserve, and such of the conscripts of the year 1808 as had till now been undisposed of, were all put in motion towards the acting armies of the Pyrenees. The same destination was given to four thousand veteran soldiers of the departmental companies, instituted for the police of the interior. To set the artillery equipages expeditiously on foot, the arsenals of the fortresses, between the left bank of the Loire and the frontiers, displayed all at once a degree of activity to which they had been unac-

customed for a century. Bayonne became a highly important place of dépôt.

At the other extremity of the Pyrenean chain, Perpignan was destined to play a similar part, though on a smaller scale. There, also, was formed an army; but there, the sending of succours into Portugal could not be urged as a reason for its being assembled. The corps of observation of the Eastern Pyrenees was composed of Neapolitan, Italian, and French troops, drawn from Italy, to the number of eleven thousand infantry, seventeen hundred cavalry, and eighteen cannon. Duhesme, one of the oldest generals of division, had the command of it; under his orders were placed the Italian general Lecchi, who had led the troops from beyond the Alps, and the French General Chabran, who was called from Toulouse, where he commanded the tenth territorial military division.

The bringing into the field so large a portion of the national forces was accomplished without making any apparent stir. Foreigners were not aware of it; the natives hardly perceived it; the absence of the Emperor did not suspend the activity of the preparations. That Prince spent the last six weeks of the year 1807 in visiting the kingdom of Italy: we have already spoken of his journey, and we shall recur to it again, because it is connected with the events of our history. At three hundred leagues from his capital, Napoleon gave the impulse to the political machine, as if he had been presiding in the council of





his ministers; and the motion was communicated through all the ramifications which he had prepared. On seeing the celerity with which he was served by enthusiasm and fear, it might have been thought that, as in France all was conceived by a single head, so was all executed by a single arm.

On his return to Paris, Napoleon summoned into service eighty thousand conscripts of 1809. The interview at Tilsit seemed to have guaranteed, for many years, the peace of the Continent. What powerful consideration, then, could it be, that could induce the Government to rend so many children from their mothers, so many hands from agriculture and the arts? "The necessity," said the ministers of Napoleon,\* "of having considerable means on every point of attack, in order to profit by any favourable circumstances, that might afford an opportunity of carrying the war into England, Ireland, and the Indies." According to the opinion of one of them, "A common-place policy would have led the Emperor to disarm, but such a policy would be the scourge of France." According to the other—"It was not enough to have an army in Portugal. The Spaniards entertained fears for Cadiz, as well as for Ceuta; it was against that part of the world that the English seemed inclined to direct their secret expeditions. "They have," said he, "landed con-

\* See the reports of the minister of the war and foreign departments, in the *Moniteur* of the 24th of January, 1808.

siderable forces at Gibraltar; they have united in that quarter the troops which were expelled from the Levant, and a part of those which they had collected in Sicily. Their cruising squadrons on the Spanish coast have become more vigilant; they seem desirous to avenge on that kingdom the reverses which they have sustained in the colonies. It is necessary, therefore, that his Majesty should fix his attention on the whole of the Peninsula."

Napoleon did not lose sight of it. In the month of February, the army of the Eastern Pyrenees entered Catalonia. Two battalions of the second regiment of infantry, commanded by the general-of-brigade Nicolas, halted at Figuieras, under pretence of waiting there for a great personage, who, it was whispered, was the Emperor. There were no barracks in the town. The General required to be allowed to lodge his troops above, in the citadel of San Fernando, which is the most modern of the Spanish fortresses, and the most difficult to take. The Governor was a decrepit old man, and his garrison consisted of three hundred Walloon guards and artillery-men. He admitted the French. On the ensuing day, Nicolas continued his march, with one of the battalions, and Major Piat, who remained with the other, obliged the Spanish garrison to descend into the town.

In the meantime the rest of the army arrived at Barcelona. Duhesme, the General-in-chief, announced that his soldiers would continue their march to Valencia, at the expiration of two days.

The capital of Catalonia is defended by two fortresses; the citadel, a regular pentagon, constructed in the eighteenth century, at the north-east extremity of the city, and the Castle of Mont Joui, situated to the south on the point of a rock, which overlooks the city, the port, and the country. On the 16th of February the foreign troops were under arms, on pretence of being inspected before their departure, which, it was said, was to take place on the morrow. Lecchi ranged his Italians in order of battle, with their backs to the fortifications. All the idlers of Barcelona, and even the Spanish soldiers of the guard, hastened to the review. While they were listening to the music, and their attention was fixed on the minute vigilance with which the officers, and the General himself, examined every part of the dress, two companies of the right, leaving their knapsacks on the ground, slipped behind the line, turned short before the citadel gate, and covered the drawbridge before there was time to raise it. Lecchi came up at full gallop, followed by his staff. He called out to the Spanish soldiers that he meant to pay a visit to their commandant, and that the two companies were there to serve as his escort. During this parley two battalions advanced, and the whole line seemed about to move. The Italians were masters of the citadel.

The rock of Mont-Joui was too difficult of access to allow of the troops reaching it unperceived. Dubesme, therefore, went to Count d'Ezpeleta de Veyre,



captain general of the province.\* “My troops occupy your citadel,” said he; “open instantly the gates of Mont Joui; for the Emperor Napoleon has ordered me to put garrisons into your fortresses. If you hesitate, I will declare war against Spain, and you will be responsible to your sovereign and to your country, for the torrents of blood which your resistance will cause to be shed.” The name of Napoleon produced its accustomed effect. The Spanish general was old and timid; the sole order which his government had given to him was, to avoid every step which could endanger the continuance of the good understanding with France. He gave up the keys of Mont-Joui, and Duhesme believed himself to be master of Catalonia.

Thus, without a blow having been struck, the largest city of the Spanish monarchy fell into the power of the French,—that city, which, a century before, when all the rest of Spain had been subjugated, had contended singly against the armies of Louis XIV. In the means which were employed to obtain possession of it, there was a mixture of the craft of weakness and the arrogance of strength. With respect to Pampeluna and Saint Sebastian, stratagem only was employed.

The general of brigade Darmagnac had led into

\* In Spain, Captain-general of a province is an office, Captain general of the army is a rank.

Navarre, by the pass of Roncevalles, three French battalions; namely, one of the fifteenth regiment of infantry, one of the forty-seventh, and one of the seventieth. The gates of Pampeluna were opened to him as to a friend; but the military authority remained in the hands of the Viceroy, the Marquis of Valle Santoro, who had defended the castle of Ballegarde during the revolution; and the battalion of the Tarragona volunteers, seven hundred strong, which was quartered in the citadel, did the whole duty of the place. Since Cardinal Don Francisco Cisneros, regent of Castile, dismantled all the fortresses of Navarre, with the exception of the capital, it has been a received opinion that he who is master of Pampeluna is master of the province. To be master of Pampeluna, it was necessary to seize upon the citadel. That fortress, built by Philip II., contained the magazines of ammunition and provisions. Thither, on certain days, the French soldiers went, in their great coats and caps, and without arms, to receive provisions; the Spanish troops kept a strict guard, and never failed to keep the drawbridges up, while the distribution was going forward.

In the night of the 15th of February, Darmagnac collected a hundred grenadiers at his own quarters, which, not without a design in so doing, he had established on the parade which separates the citadel from the city. They entered their General's dwelling, one after the other, with their muskets

and cartridges, and in profound silence. On the sixteenth, at seven in the morning, a *corvée*\* of sixty men was dispatched for provisions as usual; but it was under the command of an intelligent and resolute officer, chief of battalion Robert of the seventieth regiment. Under pretence of waiting for the quartermaster, the men of the *corvée* halted, part of them on the drawbridge, the others in the advanced work. It rained: some of them entered the guard-house for shelter. At a given signal they darted on the muskets which were piled in the rack. Two of the sentinels were disarmed. The Spaniards could not get rid of the French who filled the guard-house. Those who strove to defend themselves received blows from the but-ends of the muskets. The grenadiers which had been ambushed in the house of the general now came running up. They immediately seized on a bastion, containing fifteen pieces of cannon, which commanded the moat and the entrance to the citadel. The grenadiers were closely followed by the battalion of the forty-seventh, which was quartered not far off. The rampart was completely lined with French, before the Spanish garrison, which was shut up in the barracks, had thought of defensive measures. Darmagnac informed the Viceroy and the council of Navarre, that, as he should probably make some stay at Pampeluna, he had, in

\* *Corvée* was the name given by the French soldiers to a detachment which was ordered out for a *corvée*, that is to say, for any labour or service out of the line of strictly military duty.



order to secure the safety of his troops, been obliged to put into the citadel a battalion, which should do duty in conjunction with the national garrison. This slight change, far from diminishing the present good understanding, was to be considered as an additional bond of union between the reciprocally faithful allies.

Bonds of this nature were drawn closer every day. Brigadier-general Thouvenot was sent to Saint Sebastian, with orders to collect, in a *depôt*, the soldiers who were separately rejoining their corps in Spain. This *depôt*, having become very numerous in a short time, obtained possession of the fortress, before the garrison, which consisted of detachments from the King's and the African Spanish regiments, was aware of it.

It was thus that the French obtained the mastery of San Fernando de Figueras, Barcelona, Pampeluna, and Saint Sebastian; and, having these, their military operations in the Peninsula were established upon a reasonable basis.

The troops which took the citadel of Pampeluna, having been relieved by battalions from France, they formed a junction with others in Biscay, and the whole marched into Castile, under the orders of General Merle. During the month of March, the brigade of fusileers of the imperial guard, three thousand horse, taken from the *depôts* of the *gendarmes d'élite*, dragoons, chasseurs, *mamelukes*, and light horse of Berg and of Poland, and a considerable

equipment of artillery, passed the Bidassoa. This movement was operated simultaneously with that of the reserves of Orleans, Poitiers, and Bayonne, which completed their organization while on the march, and which were replaced by other reserves, stationed at intervals on the coasts of the ocean. The whole of these troops, under the orders of Marshal Bessieres, Duke of Istria, one of the four Colonels-general of the imperial guard, constituted the corps of observation of the Western Pyrenees, which was nineteen thousand strong, exclusive of six thousand infantry, cavalry, and artillery, of the guard.

The mask was now thrown off; the interested observers, whom Spain had received as allies, still dissembled their projects; but they no longer endeavoured to conceal the means by which they were to accomplish them. Of the fortresses recently occupied, the Emperor ordered the ramparts to be armed, and the magazines to be filled. As there was not a single fortified place on the high road from Bayonne to Madrid, orders were given to restore and put into a defensible state the old castles of Pancorvo and Burgos. The arsenals of Bayonne, of Perpignan, of Pampeluna, and of Barcelona, were called into more extensive and active exertion than they had been for a century before, even during the Revolutionary war. In the French frontier towns several thousand rations of biscuit were baked, a part of which was sent to the Spanish fortresses.

On the different lines of operation the convents were transformed into barracks and hospitals; nothing was to be seen but convoys of ammunition and provisions, trains of artillery, and officers riding post to explore and to give in their reports. From the Bidassoa to the Douro the country was covered with soldiers; the towns, even the small ones, had almost all of them French commandants. The police slipped from the hands of the Spanish authorities into those of the new comers; a few national battalions, thinly scattered amidst the inundation of foreign troops, were rendered powerless; and, even after the surprising of the fortresses, their Government left them without direction and without orders. Those must, indeed, have been hardened in their blindness, who, in such a vast display of forces, would still see only the passage of an army for a particular operation. Spain was invaded, and the progressive invasion had been calculated with the object of destroying the means of resistance before they could be united and brought to bear.

Napoleon, however, had not measured the extent of the career which he would have to run: he thought it possible to conquer Spain without having to fight against the Spaniards. The troops who had crossed the Pyrenees had neither the consistency nor the vigour which are requisite for high enterprises; the *materiel* from which they were formed was the refuse of the great armies which remained undiminished in the presence of Europe: the officers were of



two kinds; the one, torn from the dépôts, where they were waiting to be disbanded or put on half pay, and discontented at being kept under their colours, notwithstanding their incapability and their infirmities; the others, very young, just from school, whose inexperience stood in need of being guided by good examples. There were few non-commissioned officers, and few subjects from which they could be made; the cavalry consisted of nothing but young soldiers and young horses. The infantry was not composed of homogeneous elements; one battalion had only four or six companies, while another, which stood next to it in the order of battle, had eight or ten.\* After the legions of reserve and the temporary corps, supplementary regiments had been created; then came marching regiments, in which were crowded together the forgotten or neglected detachments, the returned deserters, and the men from the hospitals. No corporate spirit, no proud feeling of

\* During the campaign of 1808, the battalions of the first Corps of Observation of the Gironde, which were the first to enter the Peninsula, preserved ten companies; the battalions of the Legions of Reserve were of eight, those of the temporary regiments had but four; lastly, the battalions of the light infantry and infantry of the line were organized in six. This medley disappeared in the second campaign. The corps in every branch of the service received the same formation; that is, for the infantry six companies per battalion, conformably to the imperial decree of Feb. 18, 1808. There was no longer any inequality, except among the marching battalions and squadrons, which were formed for the moment from materials brought together by chance.

acquired glory, vivified these aggregations, formed to-day, to be dissolved to-morrow ; the soldiers did not see the standards of their country waving over their heads. Unacquainted with each other ; unknown to their officers, whose names even they knew not ; taken little care of ; badly subsisted, and irregularly paid ; their existence was fluctuating and precarious, like that of the ephemeral corps of which they formed a part.

The capacity of the leaders was relied on, to make up for the inefficiency of the means which were entrusted to them. The General-of-division Mouton, the Emperor's aid-de-camp, one of the officers in the whole army who best understood the organizing and training of troops, was chosen to inspect the temporary regiments. The mildness of the climate allowed the soldiers to be taught their exercise during the winter ; and Frenchmen will learn in a fortnight that which recruits of other nations cannot make themselves masters of in less than three months. They amused the Spaniards by the semblance of war, while waiting till they could terrify them by the reality. On the 8th of March, while the men were practising musketry firing, at Valladolid, General Malher was killed by an awkward conscript, who shot him with the ramrod, which he had carelessly left in his piece : he was the first of the general officers who bedewed with his blood that soil which, at a later period, was to be thickly strewed with the corpses of his fellow-countrymen.



The corps of troops which had successively entered the Peninsula, formed so many distinct armies, each of which had its general, its staff, and its administration. When the moment arrived at which they were to be made to act together, it was necessary to give them a head ; accordingly, Prince Murat, Grand-duke of Berg, set off for Spain, with the title and authority of Lieutenant of the Emperor. He was almost alone ; but before him and after him marched three or four hundred single officers, of all ranks, war commissaries, employed in the administrative service. Many of them, who had previously been allowed to retire from the army, were now called on duty again, without having applied for it. D'Hennie, the Inspector-in-chief of reviews, was appointed Commissary-general of the French armies in Spain. The Generals-of-division Lariboissiere and Lery were nominated to the chief command of the artillery and the engineers. The General-of-division Augustus Belliard was placed at the head of the general staff.

The Grand-duke of Berg arrived at Burgos on the 13th of March ; his instructions directed him to march the army on Madrid, to keep on the watch, and in all *unforeseen cases to give the necessary orders for securing the safety of the troops*. The Emperor will follow him ; in the course of a few days he will pass the Pyrenees ; what he will decree with respect to Spain no one can foresee, nor does he himself yet know. Thus the fate of a great nation is



placed at the mercy of a foreigner. Where is the monarch, where are the princes, the ministers, the nobles, who will save it in these alarming times?

In our introduction we have exhibited the weak monarch whom his private virtues, and the innate respect of the Spaniards for royalty, could hardly save from public contempt; the Queen despised and hated, because she had given the favourite to Spain; the favourite, loaded at once with his own crimes and the misfortunes of the times; the nobles of the higher class divided into two parts, the most numerous of which crouched at the feet of the dispenser of favours, while the others declaimed against abuses, some from patriotism, but almost all because they did not benefit by them. Nor have we neglected to point out the high degree of elevation at which the national character sustained itself, notwithstanding the degraded state of the government and the depression of the upper class.

The scandalous power of favourites has almost always introduced discord into the families of kings. The discontented, whose number increased daily at the court of Madrid, collected round the heir to the throne, and sought to direct his councils. The Duke of Infantado, the Duke of San Carlos, and Don Juan Escoiquiz, one of the dignitaries of the church of Toledo, were the three chief personages of this party. The Duke of Infantado was considered a nobleman full of honour and

patriotism. This was not enough in difficult times, which require long-sighted views. The son of a German mother, and brought up at Paris, he had lost among foreigners the Castilian gravity, without acquiring in exchange the liveliness of conception and the universal aptitude which are the distinguishing characteristics of the people amidst whom he had received his first impressions. San Carlos had been governor of the Prince of Asturias. He was said to be very reserved and circumspect. The canon Escoiquiz, who had been the Prince's tutor, had more influence than the other two over the mind of his royal pupil. A man of probity and learning, he had, without a call to it, quitted the career of literature, in which he was quite at home, to throw himself into the labyrinth of politics, where a confiding disposition and a narrow genius condemned him to remain always a novice. The Prince of the Peace dreaded his ascendancy, and exaggerating in his own mind the merit of Escoiquiz, he had long kept him at a distance from the court. A circumstance, however, which it was impossible to foresee, at length brought him forward.

Ferdinand, Prince of Asturias, who was barely twenty-three, had been left a widower sixteen months before, by the death of his wife, a daughter of the Queen of Naples. Instigated by Godoy, the King, his father, wished him to choose as his second consort, Donna Maria Louisa de Bourbon, sister of the wife of the Prince of the Peace. There was

nothing derogatory in this marriage, for the intended bride was a grand-daughter of Philip V., and the name of Infanta was all that was wanting to her dignity; but the young Prince felt exasperated against an arrangement, the effect of which would be to bring him more into contact with the man whom he regarded as his mortal enemy, and as the scourge of the monarchy. His advisers approved of his just repugnance. To deliver him from being thus beset by the King and the favourite, the happy idea was suggested to him, of asking from the Emperor of the French a wife of his family, or of his choice. That monarch, it was said, would be flattered by a mark of condescension which secured the durability of his preponderance in Spain. A Princess of the imperial blood would serve as an ægis to Ferdinand against the infatuation of his parents, and against the attacks of Godoy.

Francis de Beauharnais was the French ambassador at Madrid. If he were not the author of this project, at least he seconded it with an eagerness which was not wholly disinterested. It was from the greatness of the Empress Josephine that Beauharnais principally derived his consequence, as being the eldest brother of her first husband. Among the acknowledged members of the imperial dynasty, there was no marriageable Princess of the name of Bonaparte. It might, therefore, well be imagined that Napoleon would choose from the family of his wife the bride of the Prince of Asturias, first raising



her to the rank of a Princess, as had latterly been done for the hereditary Grand-Duchess of Baden ; and, in the ambassador's dream, it was settled, that the one of the Empress's nieces, who has since married the Duke of Arenberg, would some day ascend the Spanish throne.

On the 11th of October, 1807, Ferdinand, without the knowledge of the King and Queen, addressed his request to Napoleon.\* As his domestic establishment was full of the creatures and spies of Godoy, the latter did not long remain in ignorance of the letter. He had no difficulty in making the application of the Hereditary Prince to a foreign sovereign be considered as an offence against the regal and paternal authority. Departing for the first time from the habits of his life, and the decencies of his rank, Charles IV. took it into his head to imitate Philip II.; the monarch whom, of all his predecessors, assuredly he the least resembled. At the head of a troop of his body-guards he arrested his son, disarmed him with his own hands, and confined him in an apartment of that evil-omened palace of the Escorial, still full of the remembrances of the unfortunate Don Carlos.

The Prince was not suffered to communicate with any person whatever. His prison was surrounded by sentinels. His papers were all examined ; among

\* See Notes and Illustrations, No. XVIII. at the end of this volume.

them were found full powers, written entirely in Ferdinand's hand, with a black seal, and a blank for the date, by which the Duke of Infantado was invested with the title of Generalissimo, and the command of the troops in new Castile, to take, in case of the King's death, such measures as should be deemed useful to the monarchy; and two memorials, composed by the canon Escoiquiz, and copied by the Prince, tending to enlighten the King, with respect to the abuses of the government of the Prince of the Peace, and the inconveniences of the marriage which was projected by the latter. Among the papers was likewise found a cypher, which the late Princess of Asturias had been accustomed to use in her correspondence with the Queen of Naples, her mother.

Charles IV. ordered the council of Castile to take these documents into its consideration, and to proceed against the persons whose names were implicated in them. To the nation and to Europe he held up his son as a parricide.\* This accusation went beyond the bounds of credibility. Ferdinand had never conceived the horrible project of cutting short the days of the authors of his existence. The imprudence of his conduct may be naturally explained by the ambition of those about him, and by the fears with which they inspired him, as to the attempts which, after the death of the King, Godoy might

\* See Notes and Illustrations, No. XIX. at the end of this volume.

make, to alter the succession to the throne, and, perhaps, even to place himself on it.

What might have been the issue of the trial at the Escorial it is impossible to say. Maria Louisa hated her son with all the hatred of an adulterous mother. Charles IV. saw and thought only with the eyes and will of his favourite. But the name of Napoleon was mixed with this affair. The extreme danger which would be incurred, by wounding the susceptibility of the Emperor, was the salvation of Ferdinand. Terrified at the part which the French Ambassador had taken in this intrigue, the Prince of the Peace speedily repented of having blazoned it to the world, and hastened to put a stop to the proceedings. The Prince of Asturias was made to sign a declaration of repentance, which was drawn up by Godoy. He owned himself guilty, impeached his accomplices, and promised unalterable friendship to the Prince of the Peace. At this price, he was restored to liberty, and his friends were dispersed in various places of banishment.

This brings us to the beginning of the month of November, 1807. The treaty of Fontainebleau was then just concluded, but the time necessary for obtaining the King of Spain's ratification of it had not yet elapsed. The army of General Junot was passing through Old Castile. The friends of Ferdinand gave out that it would take the road of Madrid. This report, joined with the declared enmity of the French Ambassador, filled the mind of Godoy with

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fresh alarms. He countermanded the movements of the Spanish corps which were intended to co-operate in the invasion of Portugal, as he did not wish the troops to be at a distance, while he was in doubt as to the disposition of France.

The Emperor cared as little about Ferdinand as he did about Godoy. He had no share in the intrigues which divided the royal family; but he could already perceive that, at a later period, those intrigues would favour his political views. At present, his thoughts were solely occupied with the fate of the expedition against Lisbon. What would become of Junot's twenty-five thousand soldiers, already far advanced in the Peninsula, in case the succours of the allies should fail them, or the Portuguese should determine to resist?—The Prince of the Peace was, for the moment, put in heart again, when he learned to what the immediate pretensions of the Emperor were confined. No time was lost in sending to Paris the ratification of the treaty of Fontainebleau; and orders were given to Generals Caraffa, Solano, and Taranco, to enter Portugal. Napoleon crossed the Alps.

This journey to Italy has a close connection with the approaching catastrophe of Spain. The French troops occupied Tuscany. The infant King of Etruria, and the Queen regent, his mother, were obliged to relinquish a crown which they had not renounced, and to return to the foot of the paternal throne, there to wait, till those who made the recent ar-

rangements might be pleased to put them in possession of the imaginary kingdom of Northern Lusitania. Napoleon saw Lucien at Mantua, promised him the crown of Portugal, and informed him of his design to give the eldest of his brother's daughters in marriage to the Prince of the Asturias. Lucien had been the Ambassador at Madrid from the French republic, in 1801, and the elegance of his manners formed a striking contrast with the roughness of the republican envoys who had preceded him. He had conciliated the affections of the Spaniards, and his daughter had been the object of the particular attentions of the royal family.

During the Italian journey, the communications with the court of Madrid became less frequent, in consequence of the greater distance, and, also, because interests of a different kind seemed to take up all the attention of the Emperor. The return of that monarch to Paris did not restore the confidence of their former intercourse. He often spoke with harshness of the government of the Prince of the Peace, and with contempt of his person: the latter in vain solicited the recall of Beauharnais. From Prince Murat, the declared protector of Godoy, Izquierdo could obtain only indefinite promises of kindness, and advice, by no means consolatory, as to the necessity of humouring, in the person of the Ambassador, the relation of the Empress Josephine.

The French armies, meanwhile, succeeded each other like the waves of the ocean, and inundated the



northern provinces of Spain. The household of the Emperor and the equipages of his guard had taken the road to Bayonne. The soldiers lived at the expense of the country. Notwithstanding this new burthen, the Spaniards continued to pay subsidies. The remains of their fleets were demanded from them. Their troops were out of the kingdom, and moving at the discretion of foreign generals. The conspiracy of the Escorial had at least served to demonstrate, that if the Prince of Asturias was not popular, the King and Queen had ceased to be so. The ambassador Beauharnais, declared that the Emperor was gratified with the confidence which Ferdinand had placed in him, by requesting a wife of his selection. The French generals and officers knew not what was the work which they were destined to perform; but, hearing nothing from their hosts but curses upon the author of the misfortunes of the country, they associated themselves with the public indignation through sympathy; and, influenced by that contagion of opinion which is so strong among a communicative people, some of them repeated that the army was come into Spain only to execute justice upon a villain.

Godoy, on the other hand, was suffering that anxiety of mind, and weariness of power, which are the melancholy forerunners of political catastrophes. He thought of quitting his posts before his posts quitted him. Sometimes, he meditated resigning the dignity of high admiral in favour of Don Fran-



cisco de Paula, the youngest son of the Queen, and the only one for whom he felt any tenderness. At other times, he resolved upon purchasing landed property in France, that he might secure to his bastards the means of subsistence after his decease.\* The illusions of popularity, which had so long delighted him, ceased to fascinate his mind; on the one side, was the King, old, infirm, and bowed down to the earth with vexations; on the other, the kingdom invaded by the armies of a Prince whose intentions were more than suspicious. What would be his fate, in case Napoleon should withdraw his protecting hand, and give him up to the vengeance of the heir to the throne? To fill up the measure of his misfortunes, the shelter which he had provided by the treaty of Fontainebleau was lost; for that inauspicious treaty, which had introduced the French troops into the Peninsula, was thenceforth considered as null and void, and existed only as an historical document. Instead of thinking of an independent sovereignty, the Prince of the Peace now dreamt of nothing but the scaffold.

On the brink of a precipice it is not possible to stop at will. Napoleon took pleasure in prolonging the belief of the Spanish nation in its security. He sent, by one of his chamberlains, as a present to the King and Queen, twelve horses of the greatest

\* See Notes and Illustrations, No. XX. at the end of this volume.

beauty. He wrote to Charles IV. that he purposed to pay him a visit, and to settle together amicably and without the intervention of diplomatic forms, the affairs of Spain and Portugal. This frankness and these gracious attentions quieted the fears of the Court of Madrid. To render still more favourable the dispositions of his powerful ally, the King requested that the Emperor would grant one of his relations as a wife to the Prince of Asturias. The disastrous circumstances of the period, and the presentiment of his impending fall, induced Godoy himself to advise a measure, against which, four months before, he had manifested so much aversion. No longer hoping to come a victor out of the contest, and resigned to meet half way an evil which was inevitable, he prevailed on the King, not only to solicit for a French princess, but also to abdicate, as soon as the marriage should have secured the crown in his family.

Powerless palliative of almost incurable ills ! Matters became more entangled every day. At the end of the month of February, 1808, Don Eugenio Izquierdo at last quitted Paris, where he had been neglected, and even repulsed, ever since Godoy had ceased to be necessary. He brought to Madrid a series of notes, drawn up from the verbal communications which, with long intervals between them, had been made to him by Duroc, the grand marshal of the palace, and the Prince of Benevento, vice grand elector. "The Emperor was desirous to

exchange Portugal for the provinces north of the Ebro, in order to avoid the inconvenience of a military road through Castile. His Majesty wished the French and Spaniards to traffic freely and reciprocally in the colonies of each of the two powers, on paying the same duties as native subjects. A new offensive and defensive treaty seemed to him to be necessary, to link Spain more closely with the continental system. The peace of his empire was interested in the order of succession to the Spanish throne being settled in an irrevocable manner. His Majesty was disposed to allow the King to assume the title of Emperor of the Indies, and to give his niece in marriage to the Prince of Asturias; but this marriage must be the object of a special negotiation."

Thus, these propositions,\* unseemly as they were, were not an ultimatum. Izquierdo was too thoroughly versed in intrigue, not to have at length discovered that Napoleon was deceiving every body, and meant to dispose of the whole Peninsula as he pleased. His journey home, therefore, was less with the view to continue a negotiation, in the success of which he was not simple enough to believe, than to warn his protector, who was seriously endangered, and to open the eyes of his masters. When the

\* These propositions became public, having been more fully developed, in a despatch which Don Eugenio Izquierdo addressed to the Prince of the Peace, but which was opened by those for whom it was *not* intended.



news came of the surprisal of the fortresses, he was still at Madrid. The French troops were preparing to make a great movement into the interior and towards the capital of the kingdom. The Grand Duke of Berg had set off from Paris, to take the command of them, till the Emperor in person could put himself at the head of his armies. There was, consequently, no longer a hope of coming to an accommodation with a rapacious conqueror, who grasped at every thing that was accessible to him, and whose power had hitherto been boundless. After fifteen years of servitude, disguised under the name of alliance, the sole return for fleets given up, treasures lavished, and the blood of the subjects shed in a foreign cause, was, that the throne and the national independence were about to perish by the same blow.

While the monarchy was in this peril, the favourite thought of nothing but providing for the safety of his own person, and seeking in another hemisphere the pleasures which were on the point of escaping from him in this. He advised Charles IV. and his wife to take refuge in America, with the whole of the royal family. The necessary steps were adopted for carrying this scheme into effect. Don Francisco Solano, Marquis del Socorro, had orders to escape from Portugal with his division, and to come and occupy the Guadarrama mountains. From Segovia were brought thirty field pieces, with their accompaniments, under the orders of Don

Miguel Cevallos, Major-general of artillery. Corps of infantry and cavalry were stationed at intervals on the road to Seville. From Madrid to Aranjuez, at which latter place the court then was, were sent the body-guards, the light squadrons of the royal carabineers, the battalions of the Walloon and Spanish guards, and the national regiments of horse and foot, of which the garrison was usually composed.

A curious coincidence presents itself here to the mind of the reader. Four months had scarcely elapsed since, in consequence of the machinations in which Charles IV. had been induced to bear a part, his son-in-law, the Prince Regent of Portugal, his own daughter, and his grandson, had been driven to seek an asylum beyond the ocean. His own turn is now come. Now, in his declining years, he is reduced to cross the seas. Happy even if the subjects whom he wishes to desert will permit him to accomplish his design!

Madrid and Aranjuez, do not, like Lisbon and Mafra, afford facilities for the preparations of a flight. The public, at first, attributed the assemblage of the artillery and the troops to a tardy and imperfect resolution to resist. The real plan of Godoy, however, soon got wind, and spread uneasiness in the capital; for the example of Portugal was fresh in recollection. It was known how the French had availed themselves of the emigration of the house of Braganza, to seize on the government, and to impose exorbitant contributions. In this

frame of mind, the inhabitants could not witness without strong emotions the departure of their garrison.

The distance from Madrid to Aranjuez is eight leagues. The population of the latter city, which is commonly from eight to ten thousand souls, was now more than trebled, by the addition of the military forces, and of so many persons belonging to the court. On the 16th of March, the day on which the troops arrived, a multitude of peasants hurried from the surrounding villages to learn whether it was true that their King was going to abandon them. When it was impossible for them any longer to doubt that such was the case, they spread themselves over the country, and blocked up the roads, in order to stop the monarch in his journey, and soften him by their tears. This movement, so natural, so excusable, was encouraged by the repugnance which several great persons felt to go into exile, and also by the discordancy of opinions in the royal family. It was known that the Prince of Asturias, his brother Don Carlos, and his uncle Don Antonio, had openly declared against the voyage. It was affirmed, too, that the ambassador disapproved of it. The popular fermentation was so great as to induce the King to submit to his council the question of transplanting his person and court to America. The majority decided against the measure. The monarch now appeared to have changed his mind. "My beloved



subjects," said he in a proclamation, "your noble emotion gives me proof of the feelings of your hearts. To your father it belongs to console you in the state of anguish which oppresses you; the collecting of my body-guards has not for its object either to protect my person, or to accompany me on a voyage which malignity has made you suppose to be necessary. Surrounded by the immoveable loyalty of my subjects, what ought I to fear? Spaniards, calm your minds; act as you have hitherto done towards the troops of your sovereign's ally, and you will see that, in a few days, the peace of your hearts will be restored."\*

This paternal language did not remove the fears of any one. The mules and carriages, which had been procured for the removal of the court, were not dismissed. The relays of horses, which were in readiness on the road to Seville, were not countermanded. In the morning of the 17th, the people perceived that the packing of trunks was still going on in the apartments of the castle. Some said that, in the course of the night, carriages laden with money had been despatched on the road to Andalusia. Others affirmed, that Donna Pepa Tudo,†

\* Extract from the King's proclamation, issued at Aranjuez, March 16th, 1808.

† Donna Pepa Tudo, the daughter of a retired officer, was the mistress of the Prince of the Peace; he was much attached to her; his connection with her produced two sons; it was not interrupted either by the favour with which the Queen honour-

Countess of Castillo-Fiel, the mistress of Godoy, had taken flight, loaded with diamonds. Particular attention was paid to all that occurred in the house of the Prince of the Peace. A noise was heard there : instantly the crowd hurried to the spot. Either of their own accord, or prompted by others, some of the servants of the infant Don Antonio and of the Count de Montijo were the first to utter the cry of '*Death to Godoy ! The King for ever !*' It was repeated by thousands of voices. The light squadron of the royal carabineers, who were the Prince's guard, put themselves in a defensive posture. Two muskets were fired. Don Diego Godoy, Duke of Almodovar del Campo, the brother of the favourite, came to give aid, at the head of his regiment of Spanish guards. The soldiers, however, who had imbibed the opinions of the inhabitants of Madrid, refused to fire upon the rioters ; they insulted and struck their colonel ; the mob burst open the door, broke the furniture to pieces, and made terrible havoc in the apartments. The Princess of the Peace ran out upon the staircase ; she was escorted to the castle with all the respect that was due to her virtues and her birth : the Prince had disappeared.

In order to satisfy the multitude, the King removed the Prince of the Peace from the offices of Godoy, or by his marriage with the daughter of the infant Don Louis. Not long before this period, Pepa Tudo had obtained the title of Countess of Castillo-Fiel.

generalissimo and high-admiral; declaring that he himself would command his land and sea forces.\* As soon as the news of what had taken place the evening before at Aranjuez reached Madrid, on the 18th, the same cries of "*Death to Godoy!*" were heard. There were then only the two Swiss regiments of the younger Reding and of Præux, in garrison in the capital. The crowd rushed to the house of the Prince of the Peace, and to those in which resided his mother, his brother, his sister, and the persons who were most attached to him. Their windows were broken, the furniture was thrown out of them, and bonfires were made of it in the street. The houses of Don Miguel Cayetano Soler, the minister of finance, and of Don Manuel Sixto Espinosa, a director in the same department, were plundered. In popular tumults, those who have any thing to do with the finances always run great risks. The shops in which eatables were sold were also ransacked. The captain-general of the province did not dare to call out the Swiss, lest their presence, instead of putting a stop to the disturbance, should only render it worse. In fact, nations which are brave and full of the consciousness of their dignity, look with horror upon mercenary troops, which, having no interest in the public welfare, are always on the side of the party that pays and op-

\* See Notes and Illustrations, No. XXI. at the end of this volume.



presses. The riot, which began as soon as the news arrived of the first events at Aranjuez, continued for eight-and-forty hours. It was put an end to by other circumstances, which occurred subsequently in the royal residence.

The Prince of the Peace, who was supposed to be escaping in the direction of Andalusia, was discovered, on the 19th, in a garret of his house, hidden behind a roll of matting. He had passed thirty-eight hours without eating or drinking. Those who first saw him overwhelmed him with blows; those who succeeded them pelted him with stones. It was not without great difficulty that the body-guards rescued him from the fury of men who thirsted for his blood. They conducted him to their barracks. The people, however, would not be appeased till the Prince of Asturias promised that Godoy should be given up to justice.

The riot at Aranjuez was not ostensibly directed against the royal pair. Whenever the monarch showed himself in the balcony of his palace, he was greeted with the customary acclamations. Attacked prematurely by the infirmities of age, royalty began to be burthensome to him. Even in his best days, the only part of supreme power which pleased him was the right of delegating the exercise of it to another. Now, his hoary locks were disgraced. His prime minister, his friend, whom he had brought up and adopted into his family, had been torn from his

own residence, and almost from his arms, and dragged bleeding to a prison. Charles IV. abdicated the crown\* in less than two days after he had proclaimed to his people that he was at last resolved to reign alone.

The fall of the Prince of the Peace excited throughout the kingdom a delirium of gladness which it would be difficult to describe. In several towns *Te Deum* was sung, and public rejoicings were made. At Salamanca, the professors and scholars danced round bonfires in the great square. The busts of the favourite were hung upon gibbets, and his portraits thrown into the common sewers. Even the useful establishments which he had created were not spared. The inhabitants of San Lucar de Barameda, a town situated at the mouth of the Guadalquivir, destroyed a garden, in which, under his patronage, were naturalized the most valuable vegetable productions of all parts of the globe. Boats of a particular kind, which he had ordered to be made, to save the lives of drowning persons, were broken in pieces. All the absurd calumnies which the most insane imagination could invent, were spread about against the unfortunate Godoy, and were swallowed with implicit faith. Besides twenty-five millions in specie, which were said to have been found in his coffers, it was certain that he had more than five hundred millions of francs invested in the different

\* See Notes and Illustrations, No. XXII. at the end of this volume.

banks of Europe.\* This was the reason why all the ready money had disappeared from the country. Godoy was the agent of the English; he corresponded with their governor at Gibraltar; he intended to give up Ceuta to them. Was it surprising, then, that the Emperor of the French had sent armies into Spain?

The Prince of Asturias was proclaimed King on the day after his father abdicated. The Council of Castile, in its capacity of conservator of the laws of the monarchy, having referred the act of Charles IV. to a committee of three legal characters, for the purpose of its being examined, orders were given to the council to publish it instantly, without waiting for the report of the committee. Impartial observers of the events at Aranjuez saw in them a sedition, excited and paid by the higher class of the aristocracy, against the authority of the monarch. The presumptive heir to the crown is even accused of having put himself at the head of this conspiracy. Whatever may have been the part which he took in it, posterity will never acquit him of having been too hasty to seat himself on a throne which had been rendered vacant by fear only. The confiscation of the property of Don Manuel Godoy, the de-

\* The palace of the Prince of the Peace was furnished and embellished with a degree of magnificence unknown in Spain before his time; but he had no property in foreign banks, and in his coffers there was found scarcely money enough for the current expenses of so large an establishment as his was.



priving him of his honours, and the order to bring him to trial, were the first acts of the government of Ferdinand VII. He recalled about his person, and loaded with favours, those who had been banished, in the preceding year, for the conspiracy of the Escorial.\*

The political line of conduct to be followed by the new King was not brought under debate in the Council. Personally, he hoped for protection from the French troops. His wisest counsellors did not share in the security which he felt, and, in their eyes, the diplomacy of the Emperor wore at least

\* The Duke of Infantado obtained the regiment of Spanish Guards, and the Duke of San Carlos the office of Lord High Steward. Don Juan Escoiquiz had the choice of being Inquisitor-General, a bishop, or Minister of Grace and Justice. He would accept only the situation of Counsellor of State. Ferdinand VII. retained some of his father's ministers, even Don Pedro Cevallos, though the latter, out of regard to decorum, had requested him to accept his resignation, he being a dependent of the Prince of the Peace, and his relation by marriage. In the financial department, Don Miguel Cayetano Soler, against whom the hatred of the people had been manifested, was superseded by Don Miguel Jose de Asanza. A few days after this, Lieutenant-General Don Gonzalo O'Farril, Director-General of Artillery, was appointed Minister at War, in the room of Don Antonio Olaguer Felice, an absolutely insignificant old man, who was known for nothing but the great importance which he attached to etiquette. The ministry of Grace and Justice was given to Don Sebastiano Pinuela, after having been taken from the Marquis Caballero, who had become suspected, at the same time, and for the same facts, both by the old and the new court, a circumstance not at all unusual in revolutionary times,

a cloudy aspect; yet, considering the inexperience and slender talents of their young master, they thought that Napoleon could not do better than to leave him on the throne of Spain, because no other King could be so completely subservient to him.

Charles IV., on his descending from the throne, and Ferdinand VII., on his ascending it, gave assurances to the Emperor, that the changes which had taken place would tend only to draw still closer the bonds of that intimate alliance by which the two states had so long been united. Ferdinand solemnly repeated, as sovereign, the request, which he had made, as hereditary prince, that a princess of the imperial family might be granted to him as his wife.

The troops assembled at Aranjuez and on the road to Seville, were sent into their usual cantonments. A weak garrison was placed in Madrid. Solano's division, which was supposed to be on the point of arriving at Talavera de la Reyna, received orders to return to Badajoz, to remain there at the disposal of General Junot. The same step was taken with respect to the Galician corps and Carafra's division which had been recalled from Portugal. The Emperor being expected in Spain, three Grandaees of the first class, the Duke of Frias, the Duke of Medina Celi, and Count Fernan-Nunez, Duke of Montellano, set out to compliment him, and to notify verbally to him the accession of Ferdinand to the throne. At the same time, the Duke del Parque went to meet the Grand-duke of Berg.

The French army marched toward Madrid in two columns. The Grand-duke of Berg left Burgos on the 15th. With the corps of Marshal Moncey, the imperial guard, and the great park of artillery, he took the road of Somosierra. General Dupont, with the cavalry and the first division of his corps, moved by the Guadarrama road. The second division of infantry proceeded by the way of Segovia. The third remained at Valladolid, to watch the Spanish troops which occupied Galicia. The corps of the Western Pyrenees, under the orders of Marshal Bessieres, was distributed in the cantonments which the Corps of Observation of the coasts of the ocean had quitted.

The troops took with them a fortnight's provision, and each man had fifty cartridges. They marched by brigades, bivouacked every night, and observed all the precautions which are usual in war. It was essential to obtain possession of the passes through the chain of mountains which divides Old from New Castile, before the division of Solano, or any other forces which might be sent from Madrid, could take post there. The General Officers who commanded columns, had orders to stop the movement of any Spanish troops they might meet with, and to prevent couriers from continuing their journey. They were everywhere to spread a report that the army was going to besiege Gibraltar.\*

\* The rumour of an approaching attack on Gibraltar had for some time been spread through Spain. Tents had been ordered



At Buytrago the Grand-duke of Berg received information of what had taken place at Aranjuez. He hastened to reach Madrid. On the 23rd he entered that capital, amidst a vast concourse of people, whom curiosity had drawn together. The march was opened by the imperial guard. A splendid and numerous staff surrounded the Lieutenant of the Emperor. Behind him came a division of infantry, several companies of horse artillery, and two regiments of cuirassiers. The palace of Buen-Retiro, which was sometimes the residence of the Kings of the Austrian dynasty, had been prepared for his reception. He preferred taking up his abode in the mansion of the Prince of the Peace. It was a bad omen at the outset, to see the leader of the French established in the house of the enemy of the people.

The morning after that on which these foreigners arrived shone on another kind of pomp, as consolatory to Spanish hearts, as that of the previous day

at Cadiz for the French troops, which, it was said, were to encamp in the environs. The barracks of the camp of Saint Roch had been repaired in consequence of directions from Madrid. The communications between the English town and Spain had been wholly interrupted. Under these circumstances the Duke of Kent, one of the sons of George III., wrote, in his capacity of Governor of Gibraltar, to the King of England, to obtain permission to set off to his post: wishing, by this decided step, to clear himself of the blame which he might otherwise incur, should the fortress, of which he was Governor, be besieged while he was absent.

had been to fill them with grief. Ferdinand made his entry into Madrid on horseback. No arrangements had been planned for receiving him: the public joy supplied the want of them. More than three hundred thousand men and women rushed to meet the young King, and rent the air with their acclamations. They were never tired of gazing on him. Their eagerness so retarded his progress, that he was several hours in proceeding from the promenade of the Delicias to his palace, situated at the other end of the city. No transports of joy were ever more unanimous. Not that this Prince had received from nature those seductive external graces and those inspiring qualities which inflame the multitude. In vain would have been sought in his features that good-nature which marked those of Charles IV. He more resembled his mother: though he was tall and well made, his figure wanted elegance; his motions were abrupt, his eye wandered, and he had none of the freshness of youth. The wretched manner of educating the infants of Spain, the eternal slavery of etiquette, and, more than these, the almost completely insulated state in which Ferdinand had been kept by the suspicions of the Prince of the Peace, had prolonged his childhood, and retarded the expansion of his intellectual faculties. He said little; and it could not be discerned whether his silence was the result of timidity or dissimulation. He was not known to have either virtues or vices; but it was known that he had had much both to suffer



and to fear; and it was expected that the enemy of Godoy would redress the wrongs of the last reign. The foreigners were in the heart of the kingdom; to negotiate or to fight, a leader was necessary; the semblance of one was now found. Long afflicted by a subaltern despotism, the nation hoped to rise again, and to rally under the shadow of the royal crest. Kings are certain of being adored by their subjects, when their passions and their interests put them at the head of the passions and interests of the majority.

Murat was a witness of the affectionate feelings which the inhabitants of Madrid manifested towards their new sovereign. Popular effervescence is always menacing to regular troops: and the enthusiasm of the natives was a warning to the French to be on their guard. A large corps of infantry, with a numerous artillery, was posted on the heights of Casa del Campo, opposite to, and within musket shot of the King's palace. The divisions which had passed the mountains, were successively summoned to Madrid by the Grand-duke. He reviewed them on the beautiful promenade of the Prado, less to see them than to show them. General Grouchy had the military command of the capital; and the Spanish troops acted in conjunction with the French in maintaining the peace and order of the city.

There was now much impatience to know what kind of intercourse would be established between the French and the new court. The Grand-duke of



Berg and the Ambassador did not visit Ferdinand VII. This reserve in their conduct was conformable to diplomatic usage. They could not greet him as king, before they had received instructions from the Emperor.

Let us here pause, and endeavour to discover what were the projects of Napoleon, according as a new state of things arose out of the succession of events; for, in his astonishingly fertile brain, the plan of seizing Spain for himself was not struck out at a single heat.

The interview of Tilsit having guaranteed, if not the consent, at least the indifference of the powerful Emperor of the North, to the changes which were about to be effected in the South, Junot entered Portugal. This was the first step towards weakening the Peninsula, or wresting its independence from it. The passions of men will accomplish the rest.

The secret letter from Ferdinand to Napoleon was a ray of light to the latter. Till then his thoughts had not dwelt on the advantage which he might derive from the internal dissensions of the royal family of Spain. Become, by the force of circumstances, a mediator between the father and the son, it was his intention to make Charles IV. renounce a crown which was too heavy for his age and infirmities. The removal of the Prince of the Peace would have been offered as a satisfaction to the people, who abhorred him. Such institutions as were calculated to rub off the rust which covers

that country, would have been given to Spain. Ferdinand would have reigned, under the influence of the wife whom he had been made to marry, kept in awe by a king of Portugal of the imperial dynasty, and muzzled by a treaty of vassalage ; and he would have been obliged to pay for his premature elevation to the throne, at the price of ceding the provinces which contain the principal fortresses of the kingdom. By this means the French empire would again recover the limits of the Ebro, which it transiently possessed in the time of Charlemagne. Thus thought the Emperor, when he proposed to Lucien Bonaparte the crown of Portugal for himself, and the hand of Ferdinand for his daughter.

But states, as they approach their fall, rush on with an accelerated velocity, which puts at fault the calculations of reason. Terrified at the fate which was preparing for him, and led away, perhaps, by perfidiously officious hints, the favourite induced the King to resolve on emigrating to America with all his family. It mattered little to Napoleon what happened at Mexico or Peru, in the event of this voyage taking place. Europe fixed his attention. There the field would be left vacant to him ; the throne would fall naturally into his hands as first occupant. Then, no doubt, he determined to give Spain as an *apanage* to a prince of his family. Then it was that the daughter of Lucien, who had quitted Rome to go to Paris, where she was to be declared a Princess, received, at Chambery, an order not to continue her

journey ; and then vanished into air the crown which had been promised to her father.

The combination of another Bonaparte seated on a deserted throne was scarcely formed, before the tumult occurred at Aranjuez. Every thing was then to be reconstructed upon new data.

There was a wide difference between Ferdinand reigning in Spain by the permission and with the good pleasure of the Emperor, and his being proclaimed by the people and the soldiers. A prince who waved in his hand the national banners, did not come within the circle of the imperial system. He could not be too speedily hurled from the throne ; whether it was to be re-ascended by the old king, or whether it was still possible to seat upon it another dynasty.

Occasions on which morality lends arms to the passions, are of very rare occurrence in the lives of conquerors. Napoleon eagerly seized upon that which was offered to him. The abdication of Aranjuez bore evident marks of haste and compulsion. However averse Charles IV. might have been from the toils of government, he would never have voluntarily descended from the throne without stipulating his own terms ; without fixing the spot to which he would retire ; without providing for his future years and those of the Queen : he would not have given up his best friends to the axe of the executioner. The history of Spain furnishes several examples of kings who renounced the crown in

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favour of their heirs ; but an act which had so decisive an influence on the fate of the people was always preceded and accompanied by the most solemn forms. The Cortes of Castile refused to receive the abdication of John I. At a later period, when, tired of the world, of power, and of glory, Charles V. was desirous to end his days in private life, he gave notice of it to all the European courts, and he allowed a year to elapse between this annunciation and his retirement to the monastery of St. Just. Philip V., still more weary of the cares of a throne, discussed with the councils of his monarchy the project which he had formed of resigning it. The people were then tranquil, and the troops obedient. What a difference between those august acts and the tumultuous abdication of Aranjuez, extorted by a hired populace and a mutinous soldiery ! To the Emperor, the victor over revolutions, and the restorer of religion, it belonged to take under his protection the cause of legitimate monarchs.

Aided by these considerations of a superior kind, Napoleon called before his tribunal the great process of the abdication of Charles IV. No one thought of objecting to his right of sitting in judgment, for he had a hundred thousand bayonets on the spot to maintain it. He was expected at Madrid. If he had then gone there, what he would have seen of the character and dispositions of the Spanish nation would have been a useful warning to him, and would, perhaps, have rendered him less

imprudent and less offensive. But he gave judgment without having heard the parties, and without seeing the whole extent of the question. The Parisian journalists represented Ferdinand as a seditious subject and a criminal son. It was hoped, and not erroneously, that a more advantageous bargain might be driven with Charles IV. That prince, therefore, till something better could be done, was acknowledged as the sole and legitimate King of Spain.

Such a declaration, too abruptly made, might have produced at Madrid a contrary effect to that which the Emperor wished. Before he entered the capital, the Grand-duke sent Adjutant-commandant Bailly de Monthion, one of the principal officers of his staff, to compliment the old sovereigns,\* who had remained at Aranjuez, but who afterwards removed to the Escorial. Both, but especially the Queen, besought by twenty letters,† each more pressing than the other, the kind offices of the French General for the Prince of the Peace, with whom he had so long been in habits of friendship. Not thinking themselves safe amidst their body-guard, they requested a guard of the imperial troops; it was dis-

\* The Spaniards employed the expression *old sovereigns*, in contradistinction to the new court, to indicate King Charles and the Queen his wife, whom they never separated, such was the influence that she exercised over him.

† All these letters, in which the most secret thoughts of the King and Queen of Spain are revealed, were printed in the *Moniteur* of Feb. 5, 1810.

patched to them instantly. There was a design of banishing them to Badajoz. They were saved from this exile by the intervention of Murat. So many favours secured their boundless compliance with the desires of the French. The Grand-duke, nevertheless, avoided taking, with respect to them, any steps which might commit him with the new court. For, while acting towards Ferdinand VII. with the strictest reserve, he allowed it to be hoped, that a situation so painful to the heart of the monarch would not be much farther protracted.\*

The Emperor, meanwhile, sent no reply to the notification of Ferdinand's accession. A prey to the most cruel disquietude, the Prince threw himself into the arms of the nation: it had placed its hope in him; he looked to it for his safety. Twice a day

\* The Queen of Etruria had arranged an interview between Ferdinand and Murat. The latter was at her house, accompanied by several of his officers. The King of Spain was announced. Out of respect the officers withdrew. The Grand-duke remained in the drawing-room, fully determined not to do a single thing which could induce a belief that he acknowledged Ferdinand as King. The latter, surprised at the reserve of Murat, stopped, and did not open his lips. The Queen, wishing to force them into conversation, left them together, and sat down to her piano in the adjoining room. After a few moments of silence and embarrassment, Ferdinand mechanically moved toward his sister; Murat never stirred. As neither of them had come there to hear music, both went away without having exchanged a word. After the departure of Ferdinand to Bayonne, the Grand-duke of Berg began to pay visits to Charles IV. and the Queen.



he traversed the city, either on horseback or in a carriage, without an escort, and each time his presence excited the most enthusiastic joy. The Government did all in its power to preserve a good understanding between the inhabitants and the French, by providing abundantly for the wants of the army, and by removing all motives of dissension. In the name of the Emperor, the Grand-duke expressed a wish to recover the sword of Francis I., which, since the battle of Pavia, had been in the royal armory of Madrid. Nations should never be despoiled of their trophies; and Napoleon was rich enough in glory to cover with his superfluity the faults or the misfortunes of his predecessors. Ferdinand thought himself fortunate in acquiring another claim to the protection of the Emperor and of his Lieutenant. The old sword was carried in state to the residence of Prince Murat. "It could not," said the Count of Altemira, who was deputed to present it, "be placed in nobler hands than those of an illustrious General formed in the school of the hero of our age."

A few days after this, the Grand-duke of Berg advised Ferdinand to send the Infant Don Carlos, his brother, to receive the Emperor on the frontier of his kingdom. This advice having been followed, it led the way to a still more delicate proposal. If the young King himself would go to meet the Emperor, might there not be reason to believe, that so pointed a mark of attention would be gratefully re-

garded, and would procure considerable advantages to the kingdom? The Ambassador Beauharnais, in whom more confidence was felt, held the same language as the Grand-duke. Ferdinand was wavering between the performance of an act of courtesy which would be agreeable to the Emperor, and his extreme repugnance to separate himself from his loyal people, when General Savary, Aid-de-camp to Napoleon, arrived at Madrid.

Savary was commissioned to conduct Ferdinand to Bayonne. In confiding to him this charge, and in giving orders to his Lieutenant and his ambassador to concur in its execution by every means in their power, the Emperor had not admitted any one of the three to the secret of his ulterior projects, which, perhaps, were not yet completely developed, or invariably settled in his own mind. Under an exterior of soldierly frankness and openness of heart, Savary concealed a shrewd intellect, fertile in combinations. He presented himself "as being sent solely to compliment the new King, and to learn whether his sentiments respecting France were the same as those of the King his father; declaring that, if such were the case, Napoleon would shut his eyes on all that had passed; that he would not interfere in any manner in the internal affairs of the kingdom, and that he would instantly acknowledge his Majesty as King of Spain and the Indies." Though the envoy brought with him neither a

nor credential letters, his language was too flattering not to excite the most pleasing emotions. He concluded by an assurance, that he had left his sovereign near Bayonne, and that he must be now on his way to Madrid.

In fact, the Emperor had set out from Paris on the 2nd of April. Carriages, with the crown moveables, had entered Spain. His relays and his guard were in waiting for him at all the post-houses. A quarter-master of the Imperial Palace had inspected the apartments of the Spanish palaces in which his master was to lodge, and had given such minute directions respecting baths and domestic arrangements, as did not leave a doubt that Napoleon's arrival was near at hand. Arguing from all this, General Savary renewed the solicitations which Murat and Beauharnais had already made, to prevail on the King to meet his Imperial Majesty. Considering the rapidity with which he travelled, the two monarchs could not fail of meeting at Burgos. Savary's earnestness and appearance of truth produced an impression on Ferdinand. A conversation of an hour and a quarter with the French ambassador had a still stronger effect. The unanimous opinion of his council determined him at last to yield his assent.

There were, however, abundant motives which, with statesmen, ought to have weighed against the adoption of such a confiding policy. There was not a junior lieutenant in the French army who



would not have guessed the Emperor's sentiments. The old court kept up an active correspondence with Murat, and indulged in the hope of a change. The *Moniteur* of Paris continued to treat Ferdinand VII. as nothing more than the Prince of Asturias. Don Josef Martinez Hervas, the brother-in-law of Marshal Duroc, who had accompanied General Savary to Spain, and who, though he had resided in France, had not ceased to have a Spanish heart, declared that if the King quitted Madrid, he would return there no more. Woe be to those absolute sovereigns whom their incapacity, or their weakness, condemns to put themselves in a state of tutelage! Of the four persons to whom Ferdinand then resorted for advice, there was only one, that was Cevallos, who had not been concerned in the conspiracy of the Escorial. The three others, San Carlos, Infantado, and Escoiquiz, had not yet recovered from the terror into which they had been thrown by the anger of the old King. Napoleon alone could secure their heads, which were still trembling on their shoulders; they were impatient to see him and to secure his good graces. Their minds, dazzled by the personal advantages which they might derive from this visit, did not perceive the inconveniences of which it might be productive to the King and the kingdom. In their opinion, it was necessary, no matter at what price, to shorten the crisis in which the state was placed. There could be no reason to fear that the Emperor would abuse

the weakness of the young King to rob him of his crown ; for Spain, Europe, France itself, would rise against the deed, and the New World would instantaneously fall a prey to the English. The mere idea of such horrible perfidy was an insult to the lofty spirit of a hero like Napoleon ! “ But, after all,” said the partisans of the journey, “ what is to be done ? Submission is inevitable, since resistance is impossible.”

On the 10th of April, Ferdinand set out from Madrid, with his private confidants and the titular possessors of the high offices of his court. General Savary requested the honour of accompanying him. As soon as he was out of the walls of his capital, the sacrifice might be considered as nearly consummated. The roads were covered with French troops ; they thronged round him, as much to keep watch upon, as to honour him. Thenceforward, it would have been difficult for him to turn back, or to change his route. When they reached Burgos, Napoleon, always announced, but never coming, was not there. The same seduction and the same credulity led on the Court of Spain to Vittoria. There, Savary quitted the King, proceeded to find the Emperor, whose departure from Bordeaux to Bayonne was known, and shortly returned with a letter, the tone and manner of which would have opened the eyes of any men who were not wilfully blind. The Emperor did not give Ferdinand the title of *your*

*majesty*; and he remonstrated severely with him on the illegality of the events at Aranjuez, and on the danger which kings ran by accustoming the people to take justice into their own hands. He promised but little, and his fidelity to his promises was made dependant on a discussion in which he constituted himself the sole arbiter.\*

At Vittoria more than one generous effort was tried to snatch the King from the fate which impended over him. Don Mariano Luiz de Urquijo, one of the most illustrious victims of Godoy's despotism, hurried from Bilbao, where he was living in exile, and forcibly and clearly urged the irresistible arguments which ought to deter the King from throwing himself into the snare that was spread for him.† Hervás repeated his prophetic counsels; Don Manuel Mazon Correa, the superintendent of the customs on the line of the Ebro, offered the services and the arms of two thousand custom-house officers, to rescue the King from the French. Don Miguel Ricardo de Alava, a naval officer, wished to withdraw him from his palace, in the disguise of a muleteer. The Duke of Mahon, who was then commandant-general of Guipuscoa, promised to cover and secure his flight into Arragon, that it might not be said that a descendant of the brave Crillon had failed in devoted attachment to one of the pos,

\* See Notes and Illustrations, No. XXIII at the end of this volume.

† Ibid, No. XXIV.



terity of Henry IV.\* The people, who, in simple cases, are sounder judges than ministers and grandees, because their natural good sense is not perverted by cowardly calculations,—the people crowded to the palace of the King to prevent his departure; they wished to unharness the horses; they cut the traces of the carriages. The French division of General Verdier ran to arms; and Ferdinand was on the point of calling for its assistance to disperse the multitude. Such a profusion of advice, dictated by the fidelity and the will of the people, and expressed with so much energy, was unavailing to overcome that persevering infatuation in which the generalissimo of the Escorial and a priest of talent † retained their sovereign. The die of his fate was cast; the unfortunate prince passed the Bidassoa on the 20th of April. The infant Don Carlos his brother entered France some days before him.

In 1793 the Bourbons were swallowed up by the soil of France; but the days of 1793 had long gone

\* The Duke of Mahon is the son of Louis de Berton des Balbes de Quiers, Duke of Crillon, who passed from the service of France into that of Spain, under the reign of Charles III., received the title of the Duke of Mahon, for having, in 1782, taken the fortress of that name, and subsequently commanded the combined army at the siege of Gibraltar.

† It will be remembered, that the Prince of Asturias was almost exclusively directed by the advice of the canon Escobiquiz, when he invested the Duke of Infantado with the powers of generalissimo.

by. The Spanish Bourbons had, in their own eyes, nothing in them that was French, and they had, if possible, still less in the eyes of France; they had forgotten their origin. The grandsons of Louis XIV. could no longer even speak the language of Bossuet and of Racine. By leaving them on the throne of Madrid, the Emperor would have completed their extinction, and would have continued to find in them more docile tools and more faithful vassals than he could have found in a King of his own family. The childish vanity of substituting everywhere his own dynasty in the place of that of the Bourbons, made Napoleon incur, with his contemporaries, and with history, the responsibility of such a gigantic stroke of political daring, that nothing like a parallel to it can be discovered without going back to the times of Charles the Rash and Louis XI. As soon as he arrived at Bayonne, Ferdinand was called upon to give up the crown of Spain and the Indies, in exchange for the petty kingdom of Etruria, which was offered to him by the Emperor. The young King at first rejected this degrading proposal, but his resistance had been foreseen, and measures had already been taken to put an end to it, or to render it unavailing.

The Spanish ministers formed a supreme Junta of government, at Madrid, under the presidency of the infant Don Antonio, brother of Charles IV. Previously to the departure of the monarch, the Grand-

duke, the Ambassador, and General Savary, had several times declared, that the liberation of the Prince of the Peace would gratify the Emperor. Napoleon was not ignorant how much he should increase his popularity among the Spaniards, by giving up Godoy to the fury of the people; but he shrunk with horror from the idea of receiving the price of blood; the favourite of Charles IV. and Maria Louisa was still necessary to his political combinations.

Besides, Prince Murat and the Prince of the Peace had for a long while been connected by the ties of the strictest friendship. The latter, at the period of his splendour, often wore a sword-belt, which the Grand-duchess of Berg had herself embroidered. In his prison, he was continually calling on the name of Murat. Murat was not deaf to the claims of friendship: on the very day that Ferdinand departed for Bayonne, the French Prince imperiously required that which, a few hours before, he had requested in a moderate tone. The Junta referred the subject to their sovereign. The Grand-duke insisted, and threatened to put to the sword a hundred body-guards and five hundred provincial grenadiers, who kept watch over Godoy, in the old royal mansion of Villa Viciosa, four leagues from Madrid. The prisoner was then delivered to the French, who sent him across the Pyrenees.

At the same time, the old King protested against the abdication of Aranjuez, as having been extorted



from him by force.\* After this signal disavowal, his presence in Spain was considered to be useless; and he himself was not desirous to remain there, now that the Prince of the Peace was liberated, and gone to France. The Grand-duke, therefore, sent Charles IV. and Queen Maria Louisa to Bayonne, where they arrived on the 30th of April, ten days after their son, and four days after their favourite. The appearance of these new personages on this busy scene, made the negotiation take another turn. The Emperor would not continue to treat for the crown with the prince who was reluctant to abandon it. Godoy, still bearing on him the marks of the blows received at Aranjuez, and considering Spain as nothing, since he could no longer reign there, came and lent his aid secretly to an abominable plot, and, by the last act of his political life, justified the feelings of abhorrence which his fellow countrymen had sworn to cherish against him. Prompted by the favourite's counsels, and under the influence of the Queen's malevolent passions, Charles IV. made himself a tool to the policy of the foe of his house. He took upon himself to bring to reason a rebellious and usurping son; and this lamentable task he performed with such a degree of violence, and utter want of feeling, as made Napoleon himself shudder.†

\* See Notes and Illustrations, No. XXV. at the end of this volume.

† The author of "Historical Memoirs on the Spanish Revo-

The departure of Ferdinand spread alarm through Spain. Though, in general, the troops observed strict discipline, they were disagreeable to the inhabitants, because they lived at the expense of the country, and because they had that overbearingness which is inspired by the habit of victory. Not a day passed that Castilian pride was not wounded by the excess of French petulance. Soldiers were killed at Burgos, at Barcelona, and at several other

lution" has described in his picturesque and attractive manner, the impression which was made on Napoleon :

" On returning from the palace of King Charles he (the Emperor) passed in an agitated manner through the apartments of the Castle of Marac, then went into the garden, where, after having with much action taken three or four turns, he called to him all the persons who were present, and, like a man full of a feeling which overpowers him, began to describe in that animated picturesque style, full of imagery, of enthusiasm and of originality which was usual with him, all that he had just been witnessing, and at the recollection of which he shuddered. His narrative absolutely transported us among the actors in that horrible scene ; he depicted King Charles complaining to his son of his conspiracies, of the ruin of the monarchy, which he himself had preserved entire amidst the convulsions of Europe, and of the insults offered to his grey hairs. " It was King Priam." This was his expression ; he then stopped all at once, and, after a moment's silence, added, " The scene was becoming very fine, when the Queen came and interrupted it, by breaking out into invectives and threats against her son ; and, after having reproached him with having dethroned them, she desired me to send him to the scaffold. What a woman ! what a mother !" exclaimed he ; " she filled me with horror, she has interested me in his favour."

places. The uneasiness of the Spaniards soon gave way to their ancient animosity against their neighbours. The troops of the two nations did not mix together. In the provinces which were not yet invaded, the governors spontaneously began to be on their guard, and to collect arms.

The French, also, strengthened themselves, and organised the occupation of the territory. Vedel's division marched to the Escorial, and was relieved at Segovia by the third division of the Second Corps of observation of the Gironde, the command of which was taken by General Frère after the death of Malher. Dupont, the general-in-chief, was at Aranjuez, with the first division of infantry and cavalry. He was ordered to remove his head-quarters to Toledo; and Adjutant-commandant Martial Thomas, with some officers of the staff and clerks of the administrative service, was sent to make the necessary preparations. He declared publicly, that the Emperor would not acknowledge Ferdinand as King of Spain, and that Charles IV. would re-ascend the throne. His speeches, repeated and commented upon by the evil-disposed, occasioned a riot. The townspeople and the peasants of the vicinity ran in crowds to the great square, called *Zocodover*, exclaiming "Ferdinand the Seventh for ever!" They paraded the streets, armed with muskets, pikes, swords and bludgeons, and carrying a flag, to which was fastened the portrait of the young King. Woe be to those who would have dared to refuse to bend



the knee to this revered image ! The mob proceeded to the house of the corregidor, Don Joseph Joachim de Santa Maria; but that magistrate succeeded in escaping privately. They, however, burnt his furniture and his carriages. They did the same to the effects of Don Pedro Segundo and Don Luis del Castillo, two rich landed proprietors, who, like the corregidor, had deserved the public hatred in no other way than by being supposed to be attached to the government of Charles IV. The disturbance lasted six-and-thirty hours, without a drop of blood being shed.

This riot occurred on the 21st of April. On the 26th, Dupont marched for Toledo, with the troops which were at Aranjuez. He approached the former place in order of attack, and ready for action. Toledo is the levitical city of the Peninsula, the seat of the Primate of Spain. The Monks and the Chapter had had time to calm the popular irritation. The Princess of the Peace, and the cardinal archbishop, her brother, came out in a carriage to meet the French. The second division of Dupont's army was stationed at Aranjuez, and was replaced at the Escorial by the third. The cavalry brigade of General Augustus Caulincourt entered New Castile at the same time, with reinforcements for the infantry corps which occupied that province.

It was not without design that the troops were accumulated round Madrid. That capital was on a volcano. The inhabitants had learned with grie

that their King had crossed the frontier. The liberation of the Prince of the Peace had been very near producing an insurrection. It was, therefore, stated in the Gazette, that it was by the express order of Ferdinand, for the purpose of Godoy being tried and punished in France. The protest of Charles IV. against the abdication at Aranjuez increased the discontent. That discontent rose to the highest pitch when the restraint put on the monarch at Bayonne, and the degrading proposals which had been made to him, began to be whispered about. To form an idea of the public feelings at that period, the reader ought to have seen, with what anxiety the courier from France was expected, what crowds daily flocked round the door of the post-house (*casa de correos*). The efforts of the French generals, and of their secret police, to call off and deceive the curiosity of the people, were unavailing. To make up for the silence, and to counterbalance the falsehoods of the printed journals, manuscript intelligence was circulated from hand to hand. *La Puerta del Sol*, that centre to so many streets, which, in ordinary times, is frequented only by loungers, was now never empty. The Spaniards no longer questioned each other about the festival of St. Jerome or of the Blessed Virgin; they poured into each other's bosoms the rage which choked them.

The Grand-duke of Berg thought that he might reclaim the alienated minds of the people, and work a change in their opinions, by showing himself every

day to the inhabitants of Madrid. Often, from the ample cloaks in which their faces were enveloped, broke forth murmurs, and even hisses, at the sight of his ostentatious cavalcades. It was not merely the leader of the French who was odious ; in Murat the Spaniards execrated the friend, the protector, and the saviour of Godoy.

The supreme Junta of Government was not without its share of crosses and afflictions. It invited to its conferences the presidents of the great institutions of the monarchy, less with a view to lighten responsibility, by dividing it among a larger number of individuals, than to obtain additional information and assistance. Frequently, in the councils, the love of the country suggested plans of deliverance. It was proposed to quit the capital and unite again in a place of safety, to destroy the arms, provisions, and means of conveyance, to disperse the Spanish troops which were in the invaded provinces, and re-assemble them on distant points, together with forty thousand men who could be drawn from Portugal, the camp of Saint Roch, the islands, and the African presidencies, and then to declare war. But to carry into effect such a plan as this, the name of the Sovereign must be employed ; and Ferdinand, on the contrary, perpetually recommended prudence, and to maintain a good understanding with the army of the Emperor. What could the Spaniards do in Madrid, hemmed round and entangled by fifty thousand French, against whom they could oppose



only a garrison of three thousand men, and a population more than usually disqualified for the trade of arms, from never having been organized as a militia?

In proportion as the fermentation increased, the government acted with more circumspectness. The Spanish troops were kept within their barracks. Notwithstanding the severe measures adopted by the police, quarrels daily occurred between the inhabitants and the French, which did not end without bloodshed. The soldiers became accustomed to consider the partisans of Ferdinand the Seventh as enemies. Some of the superior officers even went so far as to wish for a conflict, that they might give a lesson to the multitude, sure as they felt of success, in consequence of the superiority which troops habituated to danger have over crowds fighting without military arrangement and without leaders. An insurrection had long been anticipated. All the French artillery was shut up in the Retiro. In Madrid there was only the Imperial horse and foot guard, the division of infantry commanded by General Musnier, and a brigade of cavalry. But the other divisions of the Corps of observation of the Ocean were cantoned at the convent of San Bernardino, at Chamartin, at Fuencarral, and at the Pardo, ready to hurry to the capital on the first alarm.

The powder was exposed, and the least spark would be sufficient to make it explode. The Grand-

duke presented to the Infant Don Antonio a letter from Charles IV., which enjoined him to send to Bayonne the Queen of Etruria, and the Infant Don Francisco de Paula. The Queen consented to go. With respect to the Infant, who was only thirteen, the Junta of Government replied, that he could not be allowed to depart without an authority from King Ferdinand. The Grand-duke notified to the Junta that he would take the responsibility upon himself, and that he should know how to put down any opposition which might be offered to his will.

The 2d of May was the day appointed for the departure of the Queen of Etruria, her children, and her brother, Don Francisco de Paula. The last two couriers from Bayonne had not arrived, and this had increased the anxiety which was felt. Early in the morning, the square before the palace was crowded with people, and particularly with women, who watched, in a melancholy mood, the preparations for the journey. At nine o'clock, the Queen set out with her son and daughter. There still remained two carriages, which were being hastily packed. It was rumoured that one of them was for the Infant Don Antonio. Thus, then, they were all going! In an hour's time the capital would be robbed of the whole family of its kings! Persons who were on service in the court, reported that Don Francisco was averse to the journey, and that he wept bitterly. On hearing this, the women shed tears, the men grew frantic.

At that moment, Augustus Lagrange, a French officer, came out of the palace. His white cloak and crimson pantaloons showed him to be one of Murat's Aids-de-camps. "There he is; he is come to carry off our Prince!" These words circulated rapidly through the crowd. The French officer was surrounded, insulted, hustled. For a while he defended himself, but he was just about to fall a victim, when a patrol of the imperial guard happening to pass by, ten grenadiers made use of their bayonets, and succeeded in rescuing him.

The Grand-duke resided in the mansion of the Prince of the Peace, two hundred yards behind the palace. His picket battalion\* hastened, with two pieces of cannon, to disperse the multitude. But an electric movement had already run from the one end of the city to the other. The Plaza-Mayor and the street of Alcala were filled in an instant. Nothing was to be heard but vociferations, mingled with the rolling of the drum and the sound of the trumpet, that summoned the troops to their posts. The Spaniards were convinced that the French had sworn their ruin; there was not a Frenchman but felt certain that an extensive plot was formed to massacre the army. The inhabitants seized upon fowling-pieces, and old swords, and, where weapons could not be found, bludgeons supplied their place.

\* Picket troops are those which are kept collected under arms, to be ready to act whenever and wherever it may be necessary.



Soldiers who were taken individually by surprise in the streets were killed or disarmed. Officers of the staff, and cavalry soldiers conveying orders, were pulled from their horses. Stones were thrown and muskets fired from the windows. Some furious women poured down boiling water from the balconies. Fifty single combats were being fought at the same instant. The Spaniards were particularly inexorable to some Mamelukes of the guard who fell into their hands; they thought themselves doubly fortunate to slay with the same blow a Frenchman and a Mussulman!\*

The troops got under arms; the scene changed. The general officers ordered detachments of infantry to break open the doors of the houses from which shots had been fired, and to take vengeance on the aggressors. Three or four volleys of grape-shot swept the fine street of Alcala, the width and straightness of which affords such scope for the fire of artillery. Colonel Daumesnil, at the head of the cavalry of the imperial guard, made a charge on the multitude. The Polish lancers then first produced on the minds of the Spaniards an impression of terror, which afterwards became more powerful, in proportion as they became better known.

The Spanish garrison remained shut up in its quarters, waiting for orders to act. Near the gate of Fuencarral was the park of artillery, which con-

\* Since the invasion of the Moors, the Spaniards have ever had a profound hatred of the dress of the Mussulmans.

tained ten thousand muskets packed up in chests, and twenty-six pieces of cannon mounted on carriages. The people attempted to seize them. At first, the cannoneers, who guarded the park, resisted their attempts; but hearing that their comrades of the infantry were attacked in the barracks, and seeing a French column advancing at the charging step, they joined the insurgents. Commanded by two brave officers of their corps, Don Louis Daoiz, and Don Pedro Velarde, and assisted by their fellow-countrymen, who harnessed themselves to the cannon, they got three pieces into action, and began to fire grape-shot. The French column consisted of the fifth temporary regiment of infantry, from the convent of San Bernardino, which was close to the spot. Brigadier Lefrane, who commanded it, did not give the Spaniards time to make above twelve or thirteen discharges from their cannon. He stormed the park at the point of the bayonet, and recovered the muskets, the chests of which the insurgents had begun to break open. This was the most bloody episode in the conflict of the second of May. Here perished Daoiz and Velarde. History will preserve their names, as the first martyrs to the cause of their country's independence.

As soon as the first shots were fired, the Grand-duke of Berg, Marshal Moncey, and such general officers as were not at the head of troops, proceeded to the summit of the eminence of St. Vincent, a position which commands the western part of the city.

The regiment of fusileers of the imperial guard had been assembled there. Several members of the Junta hastened to this spot, and implored the Grand-duke to put a stop to the effusion of blood. O'Far-  
ril, the war minister, and Asanza, the finance minister, rode through the streets, waving white handkerchiefs as a token of reconciliation. They saved the lives of a great number of their fellow-citizens. At their request, the members of the councils spread themselves in the different quarters, to publish a general amnesty. Several officers of both nations assisted them in performing this pacific mission. The disturbance began at ten o'clock in the morning, and by two in the afternoon all was over. The troops and artillery cantoned at some distance from Madrid began their march, but they did not enter the city. During the whole of this tumult, the loss of the French in killed and wounded, did not amount to three hundred; that of the Spaniards was still less.

The combat was at an end, but peace was not restored. It was of little consequence to the soldiers, that weapons had been put into the hands of their enemies by love of country and hatred of oppression; in their eyes no wars were just but such as were fairly carried on; wars declared beforehand, in which the parties settle their quarrel in the face of day, and then embrace. The inhabitants of Madrid had fallen upon them by surprise, when they were scattered about singly, unarmed, and unoffending, and had massacred them in a cowardly manner.



When, however, by rallying their forces, the French had recovered their ascendancy, they had made a moderate use of it, for few had fallen beneath their blows, and they had contented themselves with making prisoners many who were arrested in arms. The Grand-duke considered that enough had not been done to guarantee the continuance of public order, and that authority ought to resume its rights. The insurrection of the 2d of May, whether premeditated or not, was a plain act of aggression on the part of the Spaniards. In the evening of the same day, and on the morrow, several of the persons seized during the tumult, and others whom the patrol had met bearing arms, were taken before a military commission. They were condemned to death, as leaders or accomplices in the revolt, and were shot near the promenade of the Prado.

Among those who were condemned were men who had not fought, and whose only crime was that of having had about them large knives, or other sharp instruments. They were executed without the assistance of a priest being allowed to afford them consolation in their dying moments, a circumstance which still more exasperated a religious people. The number of the victims has been exaggerated by grief and hatred; it did not exceed fifty.\* But,

\* The justificatory manifesto of the council of Castile, composed and published at Madrid in the month of August 1808, after the French army had evacuated that capital, estimates the loss of the Spaniards, in the insurrection of the 2d of May, at

whatever it was, the event itself was the source of innumerable calamities. Never will the Spaniards forgive the French for such prompt and unexpected executions. The name of Murat will be transmitted by them to posterity, loaded with the bitterest invectives and curses.

Diametrically opposite opinions have been expressed as to the causes of the rising at Madrid. Some persons, strongly impressed by the undecided and ambiguous conduct of the Junta of Government, have attributed to it a plan of Sicilian vespers;

one hundred and four killed, fifty-four wounded, and thirty-three missing (*extraviados*.) The manifesto employs the expression "some few," (*algunos pocos*), in speaking of those who were shot on that day and the following.

The Grand-duke of Berg knew, before the 2d of May, that the crown of Spain was reserved for another. The failure of his mission must be attributed to his more ardent than enlightened zeal for the service of the Emperor, and to the mania, which was then common enough, of judging of the Castilians, whom nobody understood, by the Italians, whose character had long been known. "Yesterday's affair gives Spain to the Emperor," said Murat, on the morning of the third, in a fit of presumptuous confidence. "Say, rather, that it for ever deprives him of it," replied O'Farril, the war minister. This loyal Spaniard was not then aware, that furious counsels had represented him, and Don Francisco Xavier de Negrete, Captain-general of New Castile, as agents of England and heads of the plot, and that in the drawing-room of the Grand-duke it had been debated whether they should not both be brought to trial, and that this absurd idea had been rejected through the energetic intercession of Marshal Moncey, whose heart bled at the appearance of injustice.

they have affirmed, that the city was all at once filled with strangers from different parts of the kingdom, that the conspiracy was to break out during the night, and that the plan was to attack the French who were in their barracks and murder each as were quartered about. Others have maintained, that a General of more moderate temper, and of conciliatory disposition, might have spared the vanquished those evils which, at a later period, were returned with interest on the victors: they have even gone so far as to say, that the disturbances were excited by the Grand-duke of Berg himself, with the view of sooner placing a regal crown on his head, by proving to Napoleon how necessary a warrior king was, to bend the Castilians under the yoke. These two opinions seem to us to be equally divested of probability. There was nothing in the popular tumult that in the slightest degree indicated premeditation. On the other hand, Murat was far from being cruelly disposed, and he knew that the choice of the Emperor, with respect to the throne of Spain, was already fixed. The known feelings of the Spanish people, and of the French army, are quite sufficient to account for the whole affair.

The immediate effect of the cannon of the 2nd of May, and of the executions on the Prado, was to terrify the inhabitants of Madrid. Those who had any influence in the city thought only of imploring mercy. In its submissiveness, the supreme council of the Inquisition went farther than the



other public authorities; its zeal led it to appeal to the ministers of religion, to direct the censure of the people against the instigators of *such excesses as the scandalous sedition of the 2nd of May*.\* The attitude assumed by the French was any thing but calculated to tranquillise; their orders of the day and proclamations, while they promised forgiveness of the past, threatened the heaviest punishments in case of a repetition of the offence. The infant Don Francisco set out for Bayonne, and, after a lapse of twenty-four hours, was followed by the infant Don Antonio. The latter made it his request to be allowed to join the King his nephew, with a view to be relieved from duties which, perhaps, would not have been better performed by one more able than he was. With him vanished the dignity which his rank reflected on the other members of the corps over which he presided. The Grand-duke of Berg having expressed a wish to take a part in the deliberations of the government, the Junta ventured to make some objections, and then yielded. A few days after this, the Grand-duke became president, with some appearance of legality, by a decree of Charles IV., which constituted him Lieutenant-general of the kingdom.

Intelligence of the events of the 2nd of May had

\* See, in the *Moniteur* of the 16th of May, 1808, the letter written, on the 6th of that month, by the Royal Council of the Inquisition, to the tribunals of the Holy office at Madrid and throughout the kingdom.

arrived at Bayonne, exaggerated by the fears of the Spaniards and the policy of the French. Nothing less was talked of than ten or twelve thousand men killed on both sides. The blood had run in streams through the streets of Madrid. This was of wondrous use to Napoleon, to put down the slight resistance which was still made to his schemes, and to hasten the *denouement* of the diplomatic drama. Ferdinand had to bear the reproach of having, *by flattering the opinion of the multitude, and by forgetting the sacred respect which is due to legitimate authority, lighted up the conflagration which was on the point of destroying Spain.* Before the old sovereigns arrived at Bayonne, and while he was aided by his advisers, Ferdinand seemed to have a will of his own. But Elcoquitz, who, of all his advisers, had the most influence over his mind, had allowed himself to be caught by the seductions of Napoleon. The firmness of Ferdinand evaporated in the presence of his father and king, on whose throne he had seated himself. The severe reproofs of the Emperor completed his discouragement. He resigned the crown unconditionally to the old King,\* who, by a treaty signed on the 5th of May,† had already disposed of it in favour of the Emperor of France. Ferdinand, who was again become Prince of Asturias, confirmed, in

\* See Notes and Illustrations, No. XXVI. at the end of this volume.

† Ibid. No. XXVII.

that capacity, the formal relinquishment made by Charles IV., and renounced his own rights, as heir to the throne, by a treaty, dated in the same month, to which the infants Don Carlos, Don Francisco, and Don Antonio acceded.\* The four Princes went much farther. In a proclamation, written at Bourdeaux, on the 12th of May,† they took upon themselves to explain to the Spanish nation the powerful motives by which their conduct had been actuated, and claimed its submission to another sovereign, as the strongest proof of fidelity which it could give to them.

Before the consummation of this sacrifice, Ferdinand VII. had, by an indirect conveyance, communicated to the Junta of the Government, "that he was not at liberty, and that, consequently, he could not take any measures for the preservation of the sovereign and the monarchy. That, such being the case, he gave to the Junta the most unlimited powers. It might remove to wherever it thought proper, and exercise, in his Majesty's name, all the functions of sovereignty. Hostilities were to commence the moment the King should be carried into the interior of France, a step to which he would never consent, unless compelled by violence." He at the same time addressed to the Royal Council, and, in failure of that, to every chancery or court, a decree, ordering,

\* See Notes and Illustrations, No. XXVIII. at the end of this volume.

† Ibid, No. XXIX.



“that the Cortes should be convoked in the most suitable place, that they should begin by levying the troops and raising the subsidies necessary for the defence of the kingdom, and that their sitting should be permanent, in order that they might be ready to take such measures as were rendered indispensable by the course of events.”

Thus, while regularly executed instruments released the magistrates, like other subjects, from the oath of fidelity, new and rigorous duties were traced out for them by this secret intimation. Ignorant, no doubt, of this truth, that kings ought to know how to die, if they wish others to die for them, Ferdinand coolly ordered his servants to rush into the thickest of the danger, for the purpose of preserving rights peculiar to himself, which he had thought proper ostensibly to sacrifice to calculations of personal safety. Still, however, the royal will was evident; it was manifested, not as the caprice of a crowned personage, but as the accomplishment of a duty on the part of the hereditary magistrate, who was to defend the nation against foreigners. The Junta of Government, instituted by Ferdinand VII. had the choice of only two modes of conduct; either to obey, or to resign an authority which was withered by the drying up of the source whence it emanated.

Political subversions, by throwing men out of the ordinary combinations of life, sometimes expose them to the risk of deviating from the principles of morality. The decrees of Ferdinand were brought by

a messenger, who, to avoid the French troops, journeyed on foot the greatest part of the way from Bayonne to Madrid, and arrived by Guadalaxara. They did not reach the Junta till two days after the official renunciation of the throne by the Prince of Asturias, which had been transmitted with extreme rapidity by means of the couriers of the army, had been promulgated, and the Grand-duke of Berg had been installed as Lieutenant-general of Charles IV. The Junta had the weakness to believe, that its recent determination bound it to persist in the same line of conduct. Still terrified by the display of the French military force on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of May, and believing that it was only taking counsel from its love of its country, it unanimously and unhesitatingly decided that the orders given by Ferdinand could not be executed. By coming to this decision, the Junta completed the divesting itself of its character of Supreme Council, derived from an independent sovereign, and was thenceforth degraded into the passive instrument of the will of foreigners.

It was of consequence that the change which had been brought about in the capital should be rapidly extended to the most distant provinces. In the mean time, till the imperial armies could occupy Cadiz and Valencia, the Lieutenant-general of the kingdom took such measures as he thought most proper, to annihilate whatever means of resistance were still possessed by the Spanish troops. The two Swiss regiments, cantoned near Madrid, were incorporated into General Dupont's army. The

three companies of the body guard, and the battalions of Spanish guards and Walloons on service, four in number, were placed under the command of Marshal Moncey. Don Antonio Filangieri, Captain-general of Galicia, was directed to concert with the General of the marine, at Ferrol, the embarkation of three thousand men for Buenos Ayres, as well to disembarrass the country of them, as to protect that colony from the attacks of the English. The Minister of marine sent instructions to the ports, to put in repair and equip the national vessels. The Admiral of the Mediterranean squadron, which had been shut up for some years in the harbour of Mahon, received orders to join the French fleet in the road of Toulon, as soon as he could escape without danger. Changes were made in the garrisons in Catalonia, and elsewhere. Solano's division had remained at Badajoz, Junot having had no wish to see it re-enter Portugal. Orders were transmitted to the General, to send off his troops to the camp of Saint Roch, and to proceed to Cadiz himself, to resume his functions as Captain-general of Andalusia. As it was feared that Solano would hesitate, Murat dispatched the Captain of Engineers, Constantin, one of the officers of his staff, to influence him. He sent Colonel Rogniat, another engineer, to Don Francisco Xavier de Castaños, who commanded at the camp of Saint Roch. The ostensible mission of Rogniat was to reconnoitre Gibraltar, but he was secretly to explain to that Lieutenant-general, who had then great influence, the advantages which he



might derive from frankly taking part in the order of things.

It was then that the heights of the Retiro begun to be fortified and provisioned, as a fit for a citadel, to keep in check the population of Madrid. The French authorities seized upon all the magazines of arms and ammunition which they find. Officers were dispatched to Ceuta, to cause a new government to be recognized, to render favor to the Court of Morocco, and to explore the north coast of Africa. The French ambassador at Constantinople had already been consulted by the Minister for foreign affairs, on the question as to far the Sublime Porte would interfere in any disputes which might arise between France and Barbary powers.

The Emperor could not remove to a distance from the Pyrenees, until the affairs of the Peninsula were definitively settled. Wishing that his work should be sanctioned by a semblance of national consent, he convoked, for the 15th of July at Bayonne, an assembly of one hundred and fifty of the principal persons of Spain, whom the Lieutenant-general of the kingdom was to designate, forming himself as much as possible to the plan which the ancient Cortes were formed. This assembly was to fix the basis of a new constitution. While waiting for its coming together, Napoleon publicly his intention of placing the crown of France on the head of another self.

**BOOK IV.**

**THE INVASION OF SPAIN.**

Effect produced in all parts of Spain by the news of the  
of the 2nd of May—Insurrection of the Asturias—In-  
tion of Santander—Insurrections of Leon, Galicia, (C  
Arragon, Catalonia, Valencia, Murcia, Andalusia, Es-  
dura—Proclamation of the insurreccional Juntas—The  
of Seville declares itself the Supreme Junta of Govern-  
of Spain and the Indies—Solano massacred at Cadix  
Junta of Seville declares war against France—The  
squadron of Cadix is bombarded and obliged to surren-  
the Spaniards—Spain requests succours from England  
positions of the English government and people—En-  
lashed by England—General Dupont's army enters Es-  
lusia—Combat of the bridge of Alcolea—Entrance of  
French into Cordova—Insurrection of La Mancha—  
Dupont's army retires to Andujar—The army under the  
mand of Marshal Moncey, Duke of Conegliano, marches  
against Valencia—Sanguinary scenes of the insurrec-  
Valencia—Combat at the bridge of Pajaro—Combat  
brilliant—Attack on Valencia—The French repossess the  
and march to Albacete.

## BOOK IV.

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### THE INVASION OF SPAIN.

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THE news of the events of the 2nd of May was spread to the furthest corners of Spain with incredible rapidity. The narratives of the French officers exaggerated the massacre, in order to increase the terror. The Spaniards also exaggerated, because exaggeration is a part of their character, and likewise because they wished to excite a greater thirst of vengeance. The redundant population which the accession of Ferdinand had drawn to Madrid, and which uncertainty had retained there, now hastily returned home. They had heard the fusillades of the Retiro. With the recital of what they had seen, they mingled that which they had heard respecting the iniquities of Bayonne, and the violence done to Ferdinand. The people did not reflect that the passes of the Pyrenees were open, the provinces and the capital invaded, the treasury and the fortresses in the hands of the enemy, the nation disarmed, the state without a guide. . . . It saw its



King treacherously imprisoned, the promised faith violated, its fellow-countrymen massacred, the Spanish name degraded! From the mountains of Arragon to the Pillars of Hercules, and from the garden of Valencia to Cape Finisterre, one only cry was heard:—"Long live Ferdinand VII.! Death to the French!"

The land of Asturias, which, of yore, served as the entrenchment of the wrecks of the Spanish country against the arms of Rome, then mistress of the world, and in which, at a later period, Pelayo took refuge with the sacred images of the Christians; that same land, always inhabited by an unconquerable race, (*Cantabros indomitos ferre jugo*), was destined to be the first to raise the banner of independence. The Viscount of Matrosa and Don Alvaro Florez Estrada, Governor-general of the Principality, escaped, on the 3rd of May, from Madrid, where they had seen their friends perish by the hands of the French. They arrived at Oviedo on the 9th, and the story which they told excited so much popular emotion as to alarm those who held authority, and induce them to ask for assistance from Madrid. Soon after, there was circulated in the country a pretended proclamation of Ferdinand VII., calling upon the nation to aid him. To quiet the disturbance, Murat sent Count Delpinar, counsellor of Castile, and Don Juan Melendez, another magistrate; and, to insure the success of their mission, they had orders to assemble the regiment

of Ultonia and the corps of Royal Carabineers. But it was too late. The people attacked and pursued the commissioners, who were in danger of their lives. The regular troops having acted their habitual part, that of defending established power, the Commander of the Royal Carabineers was threatened. The arsenal of Oviedo was plundered, and the people having armed themselves, the standard of Ferdinand VII. was raised by the Marquis de Santa Cruz de Marsenao, a Spanish grandee.

At Santander, twenty leagues from Oviedo, the storm burst on the 26th of May. The bishop, Don Rafael Mendez de Luarda, a man whose exemplary morals displayed an evangelical simplicity and strictness, put himself at the head of the rising. A council of the principal men of the province was formed on the ensuing day, which immediately summoned to arms the inhabitants of the mountains, and the Biscayans, and called on the commoners to send deputies, for the purpose of organizing in concert the defence of the country, according to the system which was adopted in the year 1795, when the French army appeared on the Upper Ebro.

At the same moment, Leon, in insurrection, sent to Corunna for muskets, and the whole of Galicia followed the example of the Asturias.

More daring still, Old Castile, which the French armies had already traversed, did not hesitate to take arms, and Ferdinand VII. was proclaimed, even in towns from the walls of which could be seen the smoke



of the French camps. The insurrection reached Navarre, at the very door of France. The body-guards, who had escorted Ferdinand, and had remained at Tolosa and Ernani, demanded, with cries of rage, that their King should be restored to them: it was like a general earthquake.

It was not the mere force of example that inspired the desire of imitation. The same feeling gave birth everywhere, at the same instant, to the same prodigies. Arragon was among the first to break out. Tortosa, Lerida, Valencia, Murcia, Carthagen, Badajoz, destroyed the proclamations of Murat. The four kingdoms of Andalusia also flew to arms, and it was there that the most formidable power was displayed. In the south, as in the north, the offence, not the danger, was estimated. Everywhere the rising was begun by the lower classes; everywhere devotedness to the country was manifested in an inverse proportion to the benefits which that country conferred on its children. The men in office, the soldiery, and the rich, at first endeavoured to repress the popular movement. Their resistance was the cause of some excesses and lamentable murders. Some worthy men were massacred for wishing to preserve public order; others, who were accused of being the accomplices of Godoy, fell victims because they had enjoyed the favour of the subverted government. It must, however, be owned, to the honour

of the Spanish character, that the love of lucre and personal revenge had no share in the crimes that were committed; and that, when an appeal was made in the name of the country, there was but little resistance to be overcome. All the Spaniards were furious with rage against the foreign enemy. It would be idle, in the greatest part of the towns, to ask the names of those who first raised the cry of insurrection. All were willing, all were active, all felt the necessity of having constituted authorities to direct them, and to employ for the common benefit the efforts of all. This is the reason why the Juntas of the towns and provinces were established with such wonderful facility. In less than twenty-four hours after the explosion which overthrew all that went before, the Juntas were proclaimed, in which the most able, and generally the most enlightened, individuals in society received the sacred mission of saving the country.

The Juntas lost not a moment in enrolling the male population from the age of seventeen years to forty. The oath was solemnly renewed to the captive King, who, even before his misfortune, was the idol of the nation. In all the towns where the magistrates could succeed in rescuing them from the hands of the populace, the French were put in prison, and their property was sequestered. Proclamations glowing with patriotism were spread to the remotest corners, as well calculated to rouse courage, as the



flame is to consume the pastures of Estremadura when the landholder applies the torch to give them a new appearance and value.

“Behold them, those treacherous Frenchmen, said the Junta of Valladolid; “they came to us as allies; we nourished them with our bread; they ate at our tables; . . . and, under the mask of friendship they have disarmed our people, seized on our fortresses, despoiled and imprisoned our sovereign!—they have basely massacred our brothers!—shall these crimes remain unpunished, while there still exist Spaniards, Castilian Spaniards? . . . To arms to arms! if you do not wish to see your wives and daughters violated by the barbarians; to see your fields ravaged and your dwellings in flames if you do not wish to be governed by the code of Napoleon, by a military, sanguinary code founded on eternal war, of which the conscription is the soul, and revolution the essence! See ye not, that those armies, which are called French, are filled with Poles, Hanoverians, Bavarians, Prussian Swiss, Italians, and even Mamelukes?—Does not this sufficiently prove to you what fate awaits your children?—Is it not he who has already snatched them from you, and sent them to perish on the frozen shores of Denmark?—Let us arm again against an execrable tyrant, against the oppressor of nations against the man whom neither divine nor human ties can bind. He is the tyrant of Europe, but let him not

hope to reign over Spain. A great and generous people will never crouch under the yoke. Are we not the children of heroes? What rights, then, has this foreigner over us? What benefits have we to expect from the protector of Godoy? Had he not been his accomplice, would he have rescued that infamous wretch from the scaffold? Let us remember Pelayo, who, at the head of a handful of Christians, began to re-conquer Spain from the Moors; let us remember the infants de Lara, who freed our native land from a shameful tribute; let us remember the magnanimous Rodrigo di Bivar. The Emperor of Germany claimed to be lord paramount of our country. A council, at which the King presided, met to discuss this demand, and to reply to it. 'Let us break off this disgraceful deliberation,' exclaimed the hero; 'above a king of Castile, there is no one but God.' Let us remember that, if perfidy has led our King prisoner, we have, in a more noble manner, taught a King of France the road to Madrid. To arms! Galicians! Asturians, to arms! he against whom you combat is an infidel. He has raised up again the synagogues of the Jews, he has robbed the Pope of his territories, he has dispersed the sacred college of Cardinals. He would shake the Church, were it possible for the gates of hell to prevail against her. Ye fight for your natal soil, your properties, your laws, your king, your religion, and for the life to come. Arm your minds with the fear

of God, implore the aid of the immaculate Conception; the holy mother of God will never desert us in so just a cause."

The Deity soon signified that the cause of the Spaniards was his own. It was said, that the church of Our Lady of Guadalupe was struck by lightning on the very day on which Ferdinand VII. entered Bayonne. The tapers which were burning round the sacred image were extinguished; the mother of God was untouched. In the cavern of Covadonga, in the Asturias, so famous for having been the asylum of Pelayo and his brave followers, attentive and devout observers saw large drops of sweat trickle down the face of Our Lady of Battles. At Compostella, a clinking of arms was heard, during the night, on the tomb of St. James, announcing that the war was begun, and that the glorious patron of Spain would again lead her armies to victory. If superstition can ever find favour in the sight of philosophy, it is when she bears a part in the defence of the country.

The miracles were a proof of the opinion of the clergy. The Bishops of Oviedo and Santander were at the head of the insurrections of their respective provinces. Don Pedro de Quevedo y Quintana, Bishop of Orense, refused to go to Bayonne, to which place he had been summoned. He next, in a writing full of argument and eloquence, protested against the illegality of the acts already done in that city, and of those which it was designed to bring about

by force. He claimed from the magnanimity of the Emperor the restoration of the Spanish Princes, who, in the eye of the law, were now plunged into the tomb, in the same country in which the eldest branch of their house had been the victim of a sanguinary revolution. This upright Bishop, who was an honour to the Spanish clergy by his doctrine, as he was an example to it by his virtues, was not afraid, at the age of seventy-three, and before the insurrection broke out in his province, to convey the accents of truth to the ears of an all-powerful Prince. *I am compelled to say this* (was his conclusion) *by my love for my country, and by my office as Counsellor, a temporal title which belongs to the Spanish episcopal dignity; and, besides, I believe it to be necessary, to enlighten, set right, and bring back to the paths of glory and happiness, the hero whom Europe has hitherto respected and admired.*—In every place, the highest in rank of the ecclesiastics, as well as the lowest, gave the signal of insurrection, or at least hastened to add their voices to the voice of the people.

In the midst of efforts all equally dictated by patriotism, Seville distinguished itself by a conduct at once vigorous and prudent, and by a spirit of order, which were the salvation of Spain. The popular rising at first assumed the same character there as in the other cities. The people assembled tumultuously on the afternoon of the 26th of May, and crowded in arms under the windows of the Council-chamber. Count del Aguilar was massacred, as he left the



Town-hall, in his carriage. The nobility and persons of property saw the necessity of taking a part in the proceedings of the people, in order that they might be enabled to direct them. In the course of the 27th, therefore, a Junta of twenty-three members was formed, of delegates from the archbishopric, from the royal audiencia, the nobility, the general officers, and the various city corporations and religious communities. Don Francisco Saavedra, the late minister for the foreign department, who was considered the most eminent statesman in Spain, was called from Puerto Real, where he was living in exile, to assume the presidency. Several men of talent were chosen as members; others were placed in it merely to moderate and direct the effervescence of the people, over whom they had an unbounded influence. The most remarkable was Father Manuel Gil, a monk of the order of Minors, who, being released from a correctional convent in which Godoy had buried him, now breathed nothing but vengeance. An incessant and copious haranguer, he had been the principal promoter of the insurrection, and, from the seclusion of his cell, he stirred up and calmed the people just as he pleased. On the same day that it was installed, the Junta distributed the various administrative duties among its members, and took the title of the Supreme Junta of Government of Spain and the Indies.

This was not an empty title; Seville, though much declined from its ancient splendour, has still a popu-

lation of ninety thousand souls; in other words, it is the most considerable city of Spain after Madrid and Barcelona; it possesses the only foundery of brass cannon for the military service. Behind it are the maritime arsenal of the Caraccas, the most important in the monarchy; the English fortress of Gibraltar; Cadiz, which its peninsular situation makes easily defensible; and the whole of the Spanish Indies. Its distance from the Pyrenees, and its proximity to the only troops forming an army which the monarchy had still on foot, rendered it proper to be the central point of the insurrection.

Without losing an instant, the Junta dispatched couriers to the Captain-general of the province, who was at Cadiz, to the commander of the camp of Saint Roch, to the cities of Cordova, Granada, and Jaen, the chief places of the kingdom, to Estremadura, and to all the circumjacent cities, to inform them of the resolution which it had adopted to save the country, and to invite them to co-operate by all the means in their power. It expedited fast-sailing vessels to the Canaries and to America; it sent commissioners into the Algarves and Alemtejo, to solicit the assistance of the Portuguese people; it complimented the city of Madrid on the generous attempt which it had made, on the 2d of May, to shake off the foreign yoke; and it remonstrated with the French, on the disgrace which they would bring upon themselves and their posterity, by oppressing a generous nation, for the purpose of benefiting a

tyrant, who was not even of French descent, and who had wrested from them their laws and their liberty. The Italians and Germans, the Poles and the Swiss, were promised to be kindly treated, if they would abandon the standards of the oppressors of Europe.

The public tranquillity, meanwhile, was not disturbed for more than four-and-twenty hours at Seville, and at the expiration of that time, the tribunals resumed their functions, and the people their labours; so that, of such a great commotion, all that remained in men's minds was merely that energetic feeling which was necessary for the accomplishment of a glorious purpose. The theatres were closed, in consequence of the country being in a state of mourning, and extraordinary prayers were put up in the churches. The prisons were opened, and all the criminals were set at liberty, with the exception of those who had been guilty of aggravated crimes. A similar amnesty was granted to deserters from the army and navy, and to smugglers who should surrender within eight days. The Supreme Junta ordered that, in every town which contained two thousand houses and upwards, there should immediately be formed a Junta of six persons, under the direction of which the other constituted authorities were to continue the exercise of their functions; and that, in places of less consequence, the municipality should enroll and form into companies all males from sixteen to forty-five years of age,

with the exception of churchmen, and should raise from the people, by voluntary contributions, or, in default of those, by forced loans and assessments, the sum requisite to defray the expense of this enrolment. The companies were to reside in their own districts, and be instructed there in military discipline, till the Supreme Junta should dispose of them. All the citizens were likewise invited to enter the service voluntarily, either to strengthen the old corps, or to form new ones. The pay of the regular soldiers was increased a real, and that of the volunteers was fixed at four reals, besides a ration of bread. Care was taken that the labours of agriculture and the approaching harvest should not be interrupted by this extraordinary levy.

Four artillery officers were sent, by the Junta, to the Governors of the Camp of Saint Roch, of Granada, of Badajoz, and of Cadiz. One of them, Count Thebe, a younger son of the family of Montijo, arrived at Cadiz, on the 29th of May, with the decrees of the Supreme Junta. The city was all in combustion that night. After a fortnight's hesitation, the Marquis del Socorro had determined to execute the Grand-duke of Berg's order, by which he was directed to return to Cadiz, to resume the command of Andalusia, and he had, in consequence, entered the city on the preceding day. When he was spoken to about fighting the enemy, "There, there are the enemies of Spain," said Solano, pointing to the English vessels. The multi-



tude collected together, armed themselves, and plundered the arsenal. Solano assembled in his own house the naval and military commanders, to deliberate on the measures to be taken to quiet the people; and they promised to act as he should direct. The sight of the French flag, meanwhile, flying on the squadron, exasperated the inhabitants of Cadiz. The tumult continued. On the third day, a furious crowd, headed by a young man who had been a novice in the Carthusian convent of Xeres, rushed to the Governor's door while he was at table. The guard resisted; the assailants brought cannon, broke open the door, and entered the house. Solano escaped, by a private outlet, to the house of the Irish banker, Strange, his neighbour. From thence he proceeded along a roof; he was pursued by a workman; Solano seized and threw him into the street. As the workman lay, with his thigh broken, he pointed to the parapet behind which was hidden the man whom ten thousand voices proclaimed a traitor. Other assassins ran up, discovered the unfortunate Solano, wounded him with their weapons, dragged him from street to street, and, having subjected him to a lingering and cruel agony, put him to death in the square of San Juan de Dios.

Thus perished a man once dear to the people and to the army, and who adored his country. He might be mistaken, but his error was that of a good citizen. Another general officer, Don Francisco Xavier de Castanos, who had neither the talents nor

the high-mindedness of Solano, acted, under these circumstances, a more honourable part; so true it is, that, for military men, the safest conduct to adopt, in revolutionary times, is that which breathes a hatred of foreigners! This officer, who commanded-in-chief at the camp of Saint Roch, solemnly recognized the Junta of Seville, and, by putting at its disposal his corps of ten thousand men, gave it the weight which was requisite to make its authority be acknowledged in Andalusia and the southern provinces, and to enable it to exercise a beneficial influence over the northern provinces, and throughout the whole of the monarchy.

On the 6th of June, the Supreme Junta, in the name of Ferdinand VII. and of the Spanish nation, declared war by sea and land against Napoleon and against France, and protested, in the most solemn manner, that it would never lay down its arms till Ferdinand and his family were replaced on the throne of Spain, and the nation was re-established in its liberty, its integrity, and its independence. It distributed through the kingdom a writing intended to make known the measures which were necessary for opposing the enemy with advantage: to avoid general actions; to march against the foe with insulated parties; never to leave him at rest; to be always hanging on his flanks and rear; to starve him by intercepting his convoys, and ruining his magazines; to appear in force on the communications of Portugal with Spain, and of Spain with

France ; to entrench all such positions as were naturally strong, and to turn to advantage all the local circumstances of a country admirably calculated for defence, in consequence of the torrents, rivers, and chains of mountains, by which it is intersected : such was, in a general point of view, the system of war which was to be methodically and perseveringly followed. To accomplish this, the formation of five commands was indicated ; namely, three active armies, those of Andalusia, Galicia, and Catalonia, and two commands, to direct the northern and central provinces, which were now invaded by the enemy. Nothing was yet lost, since every arm, every mind, every heart, was devoted to the service of the parent land. Twice, during the war of the succession, the enemy had reached the heart of the kingdom, and those ephemeral advantages had served only to accelerate his ruin. "Never," concluded the Supreme Junta, "has France reigned over us ; while we, Spaniards, have frequently mastered it, not by fraud, but by dint of arms. Let well-informed men in the provinces undertake to enlighten public opinion, with respect to the boasts of the French journals, and the baseness of those of Madrid, which have sold themselves to foreigners. Let them enlighten their fellow-citizens as to the rights of the country, and, when Ferdinand VII. shall have re-ascended the throne of his fathers, the Cortes will be assembled, under him and by him,



and will give to Spain such laws as are best calculated to secure our independence and our happiness."

The loss of a French squadron was the first consequence of the declaration of war issued by the Supreme Junta. Five French ships of the line, and a frigate of the same nation, under the orders of Rear-admiral Rosily, had remained at Cadiz, ever since the battle of Trafalgar. Lieutenant-general Don Thomas Morla, who took the command after the death of Solano, had formerly, in 1801, been governor of Cadiz, when the English wished to add the scourge of their presence to the scourge of the yellow fever, which was ravaging Andalusia at that period. The firm and excellent letter which he then wrote to Sir Ralph Abercrombie, induced that officer to retire, and Morla was proclaimed the saviour of Cadiz. Another occasion now presented itself to deserve that title a second time, and to rescue a great city from the horrors of anarchy. But the sight of the French flag was a permanent cause of irritation to the people.

Under these difficult circumstances, Rear-admiral Rosily acted in the manner that was most suitable to his situation, by endeavouring to gain time enough for the arrival at Cadiz of those troops which had been dispatched from Madrid into Andalusia. He took a defensive position, beyond the reach of the land batteries, in the channel which leads to the Caraccas. While anchored there, he first offered



to quit the bay, in order to quiet the multitude he next proposed, in case the English would consent to this, to send his cannon on shore, to keep his crews on board, and to conceal his flag; in change for which sacrifice, he only required hostages for the safety of his sick, and of the French inhabitants of Cadiz, and a pledge that he should be secured from the attacks of the external enemy. Morla refused to comply with the propositions of the French Admiral, and required that the squadron should surrender at discretion.

On his refusal, the Spaniards raised batteries on the Isle of Leon and near Fort Louis. They fitted out gun-boats and bomb-vessels. The fire commenced on the 9th of June, and was continued till the 14th, on which day Rosily surrendered unconditionally. The French suffered little loss, and the Spaniards had only four men killed. Morla did not wish to employ more violent means of destruction, such as red-hot shot, he being certain of the success of his attack, in consequence of its being impossible for the French to make a long defence.

The English were impatient spectators of the combat. Admiral Collingwood, also, who commanded the blockade, made an offer of co-operation but his offer was declined. It was enough for the Spaniards that the English should prevent the fleet from escaping; and they were not disposed to grant them any claim to a prey which was easily to be obtained without their aid. There was, however,

good understanding already established between insurgent Spain and the commanders of those British troops which were at hand. Castanos had opened a correspondence with Lieutenant-general Sir Hew Dalrymple, the Governor of Gibraltar, and had borrowed there a million of reals for the Supreme Junta; and this loan was immediately advanced by the merchants, without any other security than Spanish honour. The manifesto against France prohibited the Spaniards from molesting the English nation, or its public or private property. It announced the renewal of intercourse, and the conclusion of an armistice. Immediately after the surrender of the French fleet, the Supreme Junta requested the English admiral to give a passage in one of his vessels to the commissioners whom it wished to send, for the purpose of treating with the Government of his Britannic Majesty.

The envoys of the Supreme Junta were not the first Spaniards who arrived in England to claim the assistance of the nation, and the government. The principality of Asturias, which was the first to take arms, was also, in consequence of its local situation, the first to recur to the point of resistance. Towards the latter end of May, the Viscount de Materosa and Don Diego de Vega, embarked at Gijon in an open boat, and went on board an English privateer, which was cruizing off the harbour, and which landed them at Portsmouth. From them was obtained the first news of the insurrection. A few days after, intel-

ligence was received, that the Andalusians had displayed the same determined spirit as the northern provinces, and that the whole of Spain was rising against the French.

Never before had the news of a victory, of a treaty of peace, of a declaration of war, produced in London a burst of enthusiasm and joy at all to be compared with that which the whole population now expressed, on learning the generous resolution of the Spaniards to throw off the yoke of the French. Since the accession of Napoleon to the throne, England had fought from calculation and from passion, but without hope. The continental wars, and the naval triumph of Trafalgar, had not enabled her to quit the gloomy defensive system into which she had been driven by the armament at Boulogne. The occupation of the Peninsula by the French had threatened her with a renewed invasion of Ireland ; and now the scene was all at once changed. England recovered a market for her merchandise ; and her policy, taking an unwonted road, was about to explore new paths. Long, too long, had she hired the efforts of princes without dignity, and ministers without foresight ; she was destined to be more fortunate in assuming the defence of revolutions and of popular principles ! New paths opened to her commerce would elude the exertions of a politic enemy. Instead of timidly constructing fortifications on her own shores, she was once more to carry fire and sword to that continent whence it was sought to exclude her ; from



an impotent auxiliary, behold her converted into the principal party in a war, the indirect effect of which would be to humble France, and the direct effect to ruin her.

The dictates of policy were in unison with feelings of generosity, and the merchants of London believed that they were only acting in obedience to their enthusiasm for liberty and justice. The English had fought against the Spaniards without animosity, for they hate only the strong. They squeezed with rapture the hands of those who, but the day before, were their enemies. The Spanish envoys were caressed and feasted by all classes. The sight of them excited an enthusiasm which it would be difficult to describe. It is so convenient to give a noble appearance to the dictates of interest! For once, all parties were unanimous. The opposition voted with the ministry, and, for the first time, perhaps, old Major Cartwright, the invariable defender of the people's rights, agreed in opinion with the oppressor of Ireland, and the pupil of Pitt. But still there was an obvious shade of difference in the expression. "Let us re-establish," said the first, at the meeting of Middlesex freeholders, "let us re-establish Spain independent, with her cortes and her ancient constitution. That which has been lost to the sacred cause of the liberty of the world, by the levity, the excesses, and the vices of the French, will be regained by the gravity, the moderation, and the virtue of the Spaniards."—"His Majesty's minis-



ters," said Mr. Canning, the foreign secretary, "no longer remember that war has existed between Spain and Great Britain. Every nation which resists the exorbitant power of France becomes immediately, and whatever may have been its previous relations with us, the natural ally of Great Britain." What a difference in these two kinds of morality! The one grounds itself on the irresistible power of justice, and on the sympathy which unites and draws together the individuals of our species. The other, to do good, invokes the same principles which would be invoked by the genius of evil; for what other policy but this had directed Napoleon in his proceedings with Naples, with Portugal, and with all the powers which were shielded by the ægis of England?

With such an unanimity of feelings and wishes, the measures taken by England could not fail to be efficacious. The hundred-armed giant stretched them all forth at once. By the 12th of June, arms, ammunition, and soldiers' clothing, were embarked for Gijon. Similar expeditions followed this, at brief intervals, and were directed to various points of the Spanish coast. Sixteen millions of reals were sent to Ferrol, to assist the insurrection in Galicia. Fifteen hundred Spaniards, captured on board of the four frigates, in the midst of peace, in the year 1804, were collected at Portsmouth. They were clothed, equipped, and sent to Corunna. Secret emissaries were dispatched to the Baltic, to prepare

for the escape of Romana's corps. Naval forces sailed to the Bay of Biscay to protect the shores of Spain, and orders were given to the commander-in-chief of the army in the Mediterranean, to send detachments to the succour of Catalonia. Adventurous and active officers were selected to accompany the convoys, to land with them in Spain, and to superintend the distribution of the supplies. They were directed, at the same time, to impress on the minds of the people the friendly disposition of England, to stimulate their hatred against the French, to reconnoitre the country, and to obtain a thorough knowledge of the public opinions, that they might be able to furnish the Government with such intelligence as would serve to guide it in any enterprise which it might undertake. The fullest approval was given to the manner in which the Governor of Gibraltar and Admiral Collingwood had acted towards the Spaniards. General Spencer was ordered to promote, by military demonstrations, the success of the operations of the Junta of Seville. The expeditions which were getting ready in the ports of the three kingdoms were combined, for other results than those which were expected from them. Preparations were made for embarking troops. On the 4th of July, an order in Council officially restored the relations of peace and amity between England and Spain. On the same day, the King's Commissioners, when they prorogued the parliament, announced from the throne his Majesty's intention to

make every possible effort to aid Spain in the noble contest in which she was engaged, for the defence of her integrity and her independence. But it must be said, to the eternal honour of the generous patriots who relied on their country, the Asturian, Galician, Andalusian, and Catalonian deputies, that they were all unanimous in asking nothing from the English but arms and warlike stores. "Men," said they, "our native land can herself fully supply."

The French troops, meanwhile, were on their march to occupy the southern provinces of Spain and the principal sea-ports. To Dupont was entrusted the taking possession of Andalusia. From the end of the month of April, he had been cantoned in the environs of Madrid, and he spent quietly there almost the whole of the following month, because it never entered into any one's mind, at the Duke of Berg's head-quarters, that the fleet at Cadiz was at all in jeopardy, or that there could be any danger in remaining. At length, on the 24th of May, he quitted Toledo. His corps was composed of General Barbou's division of infantry, six thousand strong, a battalion of five hundred marines of the imperial guard, intended for the works of the port of Cadiz, two Swiss regiments in the service of Spain, those of Reding No. 1, and of Prœux, and of General Fresia's division of cavalry, consisting of three thousand five hundred men, divided into two brigades. The troops had with them twenty-four pieces of cannon, and a large supply of biscuit.

It was thought impossible to provide otherwise for their subsistence, and there seemed to be no inconvenience likely to spring from swelling the columns to an immoderate size during a pacific march. General Dupont had orders to collect and take with him whatever Spanish troops he might find on the road, or within his reach. Curbed under the forms of discipline, they had not manifested the same ardent feelings as the inhabitants. On his arrival at Seville, he was to be joined by a brigade of three thousand men, detached from the army of Portugal. So little doubt was entertained of the success of this operation, that, when he sent the war minister an account of his having formed the marching columns, the General also stated, that the last of them would enter Cadiz on the 21st of June.

The French traversed the plains of La Mancha without encountering any obstacles. Having found more provisions in the country than they expected, they left their biscuit at Santa Cruz de Mudela, and entered the Sierra Morena, that chain of black mountains, the name of which, so often repeated by the Spanish romancers, filled our childhood with a kind of terror. When their advanced-guard arrived at Carolina, that town was almost deserted. The majority of the inhabitants had fled to the hills. Those who stayed behind said, that the Andalusians had taken arms, that they might not be slaughtered without defence, as the inhabitants of Madrid had been, after the disturbance of the 2nd May. On his



arrival at Andujar, two marches farther, General Dupont was informed of the levy in mass of the provinces, and the vigorous resolutions which had been adopted by the Junta of Seville. He was warned that he would not enter Cordova without fighting.

The high road from Madrid to Cadiz crosses the Guadalquivir at the bridge of Andujar, and, after having followed for eight-and-twenty leagues the left bank of the river, re-crosses it opposite the Venta de Alcolea. During the summer droughts, the Guadalquivir is fordable in many places. It flows in a country of mountains; but they are higher and steeper on the right than on the left bank. The bridge of Alcolea is of black marble, and has nineteen arches; it is about two hundred fathoms long, and crosses the stream in an angular line, the apex of the angle being opposed to the current. This construction secures it from being enfiladed in its whole length by cannon.

It was there the Spaniards waited for the French army. Don Pedro Agostino de Echevarria, a half-pay Lieutenant-colonel, and president of a special permanent council of war established at Cordova, for the prevention of smuggling, robbery, and other crimes committed in the Sierra Morena, was entrusted with the defence of this post. He had under his command a detachment of the provincial Andalusian grenadiers, the light infantry battalion of Campo Mayor, a detachment of Reding's Swiss regiment No. 3, some provincial regiments, and some squa-

drons of cavalry, the whole amounting to three or four thousand regular troops. To these, four or five thousand armed peasants were added. The Spaniards had hastily constructed a bridge head, and had formed a battery of twelve cannon in the rear, to prevent the passage of the Guadalquivir from being effected.

At break of day, on the 7th of June, the first French troops arrived in front of the bridge of Alcolea. Echevarria, with the major part of his forces, was on the right bank, near the village of that name. A fire of artillery and musketry was commenced from both banks. The French now perceived a considerable corps, especially in cavalry, debouching from the heights that line the left bank of the stream; it threatened their left flank, and might even fall upon them in the rear, while they were engaged in attacking the bridge head. Fresia advanced against it with his division of cavalry, which was supported by the battalion of marines of the guards; and by some successful charges he stopped the enemy's progress. It had, in the mean time, been ascertained that the bridge of Alcolea was not broken. The Parisian municipal guard, led by Major Esteve, formed itself into a column of attack. The third legion ranged itself behind, in the same order. They rushed to the assault. On reaching the brink of the ditch, which was found not to be very deep, the soldiers, and the conscripts with equal readiness, jumped into it, clambered on each others shoulders,

and sticking their bayonets into the parapet to serve as a ladder, they carried without much loss the unfinished work, though defended by the light infantry battalion of Campo Mayor: they then crossed the bridge at full speed. The village of Alcolea, a piece of cannon, and several ammunition waggons, fell into the hands of the French.

The Spanish corps on the left bank, meanwhile, having renewed its attacks at a moment when they might produce a more decisive effect, the General-in-chief sent to the assistance of Fresia the Swiss brigade, under the command of General Rouyer. This took time, which was also lost in throwing into the ditch a part of the parapet of the bridge head, in order to open a passage for the cavalry and artillery. Echevarria rallied his regular troops on the Cordova road, and began an orderly retreat; but Dupont speedily advancing in order of battle, the Spaniards soon quickened their pace. The Spanish cavalry made some demonstrations, as if they intended to charge the right wing of the French. Abandoned by the peasants, having lost his cannon, and being reduced to a handful of regular troops, Echevarria did not attempt to defend Cordova. By eleven at night he reached Ecija, twelve leagues from the field of battle. Some of his companions fled as far as Seville.

Alarmed and enraged by the defeat of their army, the inhabitants of Cordova barricaded the gates of their city, that they might at least have time to fly.



The French arrived at three in the afternoon, eager to enter those ancient walls, which were partially constructed by the Romans, and partly by the Arabs. Some musket shots, fired from the tops of the towers, increased the irritation of the victors. General Dupont invested the city, and expected to be master of it without striking a blow. The Prior of a convent in the suburbs was dispatched with pacific proposals to the inhabitants. He presented himself at the gate, but could not succeed in having it opened. In this city of thirty-five thousand souls, deserted by its magistrates, having no one to command or direct it, stunned by the cries of improvident men, who rushed into danger while endeavouring to avoid it, several hours would have been necessary to restore tranquillity. The citizens were incapable of hearing. The French general imagined that they would not hear. He ordered the cannon to be brought up. In a few minutes the New Gate was broken open, and the troops were let loose on the city. To some shots, which were fired from the windows merely by chance, they replied by continual volleys of musketry. Men in arms, and others who were defenceless, were killed in the streets; churches, houses, even the celebrated mosque which the Christians had converted into a cathedral, all was pillaged. The ancient capital of the Ommiade caliphs, the favourite abode of the Abderamans, the greatest monarchs that Spain ever had, now witnessed the renewal of scenes of horror such as it had



never seen since the year 1236, when the Moors were driven from it by Ferdinand III. King of Castile and Leon ; dreadful scenes, for which no excuse was to be found in the loss sustained by the victors ; since the attack of the city had not cost them ten men, and the success of the day only thirty killed and eighty wounded.

The army halted at Cordova. After the plundering had ceased, a heavy contribution was levied on the inhabitants. The battalion of marines of the imperial guard remained at Alcolea to secure the passage, and measures were taking for repairing and completing the bridge head.

General Dupont did not fail daily to inform the Grand-duke of Berg, by letters, which the latter never received, of the resistance which the Spaniards were preparing ; and not being able, with eight thousand men, to beat armies, take fortresses, and subjugate provinces, he pressingly requested that reinforcements might be sent to him.

While he was waiting for them, the insurrection hemmed him in on all sides, and his communication with Madrid was so completely cut off, that he was unable to transmit to that capital the official account of his entrance into Cordova. The armed peasants of the neighbourhood of Jaën crossed the Guadalquivir, and killed the French officer who had been left at Andujar, for the purpose of sending on to the army the straggling soldiers or detachments. Organised smugglers, relinquishing their trade to carry on the

national war, occupied in force the defiles of the Sierra Morena. As far as La Mancha the population took arms against the French. The magazines of biscuit at Santa Cruz de Mudela fell into the hands of the peasants. At Manzanares they massacred the sick. Brigadier-general René, who had acquired a high reputation for bravery in Egypt, was arrested at Carolina, on his way to join the corps of observation of the Gironde; the ferocious peasants plunged him alive into a cauldron of boiling water. Other French officers were sawed alive. Among the number of the victims were Captain Caynier, belonging to the staff, and the military commissary Vaugien.

The stragglers and weak detachments being no longer able to make their way, more numerous ones were formed. Brigadier-general Roize endeavoured to rejoin Dupont with four hundred convalescent soldiers, from the hospitals of Toledo. Swarms of insurgents assailed him as he crossed the open plains of La Mancha, and gave his feeble soldiers such a check, that they were compelled to fall back on a corps of five hundred horse chasseurs, which General Liger Belair, who had recently left Madrid, was leading to the army. The united detachments defeated the insurgents at Val de Penas; but the chasseurs being ordered to retrograde on Madrid, to be employed in another quarter, the generals, not knowing where they should find Dupont, and not thinking themselves strong enough to force the passes of

the Sierra Morena, which were said to be entrenched and provided with artillery, retreated to Madri lejos, a large town on the frontier of the province of Toledo.

Dupont found himself pushed forward as a flying camp, and like a forlorn hope. Up to the very gates of Cordova, on the soldiers whom they caught singly the peasants took vengeance for the horrors which had been committed during the assault.

Reconnoitring parties of cavalry marched every day from Cordova, and pushed as far as Carlota, on the road to Seville, without meeting the enemy. The Supreme Junta, however, was not inactive; it hastened to complete the old corps, and to form new ones. Trains of artillery were equipped, and the cavalry was remounted, with a degree of expedition which nothing but the love of country could produce. The Andalusians came in crowds at its call. As soon as the news of the defeat at Alcolea reached Seville, the Junta dispatched the Marquis of Coupigni, Brigadier of the armies, to Ecija, to rally the fugitives. The troops of the late Solano's division, and of the camp of Saint Roch, moved forward to Utrera and Carmona. The division of Grenada strained every nerve to complete its organisation; the rumour of the day was, that Castanos whom the Junta had appointed commander-in-chief of the national armies, was about to attack the French.

Some intelligence of these preparations was ob-

tained by General Dupont. He, therefore, determined on re-opening his communications, and drawing nearer to his reinforcements. On the evening of the 16th of June, he abandoned Cordova, and on the 19th, without having been followed, he arrived at Andujar, where he took up a position. On his approaching to the vicinity of the bands of insurgents which had harassed his rear, he dispatched against those of Jaën a strong detachment, commanded by Captain Baste, an excellent officer, who had quitted the naval for the military service. The insurgents were defeated and driven over the Guadalquivir. The General's intention was, that the city of Jaën should be punished, and that it should furnish provisions to the army. The success with which the soldiers accomplished the first part of this commission, prevented the execution of the second part of it altogether. Jaën was punished, and the army did not get from it a single ration of bread.

According to the instructions given by the Emperor, the expedition against Valencia was to be carried on simultaneously with that against Andalusia; it was confided to Marshal Moncey, Duke of Conegliano. If there was among the French generals one man more proper than another to win over all minds to the government which it was now sought to establish, it was undoubtedly Marshal Moncey. This old warrior was honoured by every body for his chivalrous feelings, his attachment to the public welfare, and his enthusiastic integrity. In



him the Spaniards venerated the general who, in 1795, having invaded Navarre and Biscay at the head of the Republican army, had treated with respect the agents of government, the nobles, and the priests, and had allowed all the crosses to remain standing on the highways. Since the treaty of Basle, whenever Spain had been under the necessity of allowing a French army to pass through her territory, for the purpose of attacking Portugal, Charles IV. had desired that Moncey might be its commander. Ever since he had crossed the Pyrenees, at the head of his corps of observation of the Ocean Coasts, he had protected the people, without ceasing to be the father of his soldiers. On the 2nd of May, he had appeared solely to diminish the evil, and to stop the effusion of blood. Had Moncey not been a Frenchman, he would have wished to be a native of Spain.

The preparations for this expedition were made in the latter end of May. Before they could be completed, intelligence reached Madrid that Valencia was in a state of revolution. On the 25th of that month, the people, reading in the Gazettes the compulsory abdication of Ferdinand VII., tore the proclamations of Murat, detained a convoy of money intended for Madrid, and swore to deliver and avenge their imprisoned Sovereign. The constitute authorities had been enabled to avoid complying with the wishes of the public. The active popu-

lation enrolled itself in four divisions, corresponding to the four quarters of the city.

Count de Cervellon, a Lieutenant-general, was invested with the military command, in place of Count de la Conquesta, Captain-general of the kingdoms of Valencia and Murcia, who did not possess, to the same extent, the public confidence.

The road from Madrid to Valencia divides into two branches at Tarancon, a small town, situated three leagues beyond the Tagus. One of these branches crosses the extremity of the table land of La Mancha, bends away from Valencia towards the south, enters the mountains between Albacete and Almanza, and crosses the Xucar, near its mouth. The other branch, which is the oldest, enters the mountains sooner, and, consequently, is narrower, and not so easily passable by carriages. It leaves six leagues on the left the episcopal city of Cuenca, on the Xucar, with which the communication is easy.

Marshal Moncey quitted Madrid on the 4th of June, with the first division of his army, six thousand strong, commanded by General Musnier de la Converserie, the light cavalry brigade of General Vathier, which consisted of only eight hundred men, a train of sixteen pieces of cannon, and fifty thousand rations of biscuits. Two battalions of Spanish and Walloon guards, and the three companies of the King of Spain's body-guard, were to join him on

the road: it was also intimated to him, that Chabran's division of four thousand two hundred men, belonging to the corps of observation of the Eastern Pyrenees, was on its way from Barcelona to Tortosa, where it would be put at his disposal. The Marshal was directed to march by the Cuenca road. If, when he reached Cuenca, the disturbances in Valencia had been stopped, he was to halt, and be satisfied with detaching the Spanish troops to Valencia, to reinforce the garrison and protect the coast. If the disturbances still continued, the Marshal was to send instructions to General Chabran, at Tortosa, to proceed on his march, and was to combine the march of that division with his own in such a manner that both might arrive together under the walls of Valencia.

The French arrived at Cuenca on the 11th of June; instead of the provisions which the intendant had been ordered to prepare for them, they met with a cold reception from the inhabitants, and with dispositions closely approaching to insurrection. The Spanish troops of the King's household, which were sent from Madrid to reinforce the French army, had passed in disorder, and by cross roads, to the right of the city; they took the road to Valencia, and the French expected that they should have to fight against the very men who were to have marched under their own standard. Every thing indicated that the expedition would not end peaceably. To General Chabran, who was at Tortosa, Moncey sent direction



to advance on Castellon de la Plana, so as to be in line with him at Requena, that they might march forward in concert. The Marshal, at the same time, desired that the Grand-duke of Berg would move a column from Madrid on Albacete, to cover his right, and serve as a supporting point to his subsequent operations.

The troops halted a week at Cuenca. Full of the idea which, since the 2nd of May, he had never ceased to repeat, that Spain was conquered; that three thousand men were more than would be wanted to put down the insurgents of the revolted provinces, and that everywhere else the invaders might walk about alone, as in a friendly country; and thinking that Moncey's march was too slow: Murat sent to him Brigadier-general Excelmans, and several officers, to prevail on him to proceed more rapidly, and to execute various confidential missions. Excelmans, who was a cavalry officer of a remarkably adventurous spirit, was to take the command of the marshal's van-guard, and give a more decided impulse to the movements. He and his companions arrived, on the 16th, in the village of Saelices, near Tarancon, had a quarrel at the post-house with the peasants, and were taken as prisoners to Valencia.

Thus, at the same moment, the insurrection was spread in the front and in the rear. The progress of the march rendered this more obvious every day; and, assuredly, in this quarter the conduct of the



troops was far from having provoked the indignation of the people, for their General-in-chief made them preserve discipline, and, in fact, attention to discipline was the only thing which had retarded his march. At Buenache de Alarcon, the French found no alcaide. He and all the principal inhabitants had taken flight. At Motilla del Palancar, which was the next halting-place, the emigration was still greater. At Miglanilla, a village near which the mountains begin to be precipitous, not a single inhabitant remained. This was a sign that ere long there would be fighting.

The revolution, meanwhile, had assumed an atrocious character among the Valencians, who are an inconstant and easily-excited race. Brigadier Don Fernando Saavedra was murdered by the populace before the face of the Count de Cervellon, who made fruitless efforts to save him, and this assassination, accompanied by the most flagitious circumstances, was the signal for a series of crimes. There came from Madrid to Valencia a monster of that kind which even the most generous revolution vomit forth, to furnish the means of recrimination to the enemies of the public welfare. His name was Balthazar Calvo, and he was canon of Saint Isidore. This man proclaimed the rights of the people, and the national vengeance, with a vehemence which won for him the affection of the multitude. Forty assassins ranged themselves on his side. Strong in this support, Calvo insulted

the Junta, which had refused to admit him as a member, wrested its authority from it, and, under the title of representative of the people and of Ferdinand VII., acquired such power, that the Intendant laid his accounts before him, the military officers received his orders, and the Archbishop himself was obliged to behave to him with all the outward marks of respect.

More than two hundred French merchants and others, who had been long settled in Valencia, were committed as prisoners to the citadel, at the commencement of the insurrection. Calvo caused it to be intimated to them, that their assassination was decided upon, and that, to evade death, flight was their only resource. While they were preparing for this, the monster spread a report that the prisoners intended to escape. He then hurried with his detestable train to the citadel, which was guarded by a detachment of invalids, easily obtained possession of it, and ordered the cannon to be loaded and pointed against the city. It was the evening of the 5th of June, the day of Pentecost. The magistrates, the captain-general, and the armed force, hastened to restore order. The religious communities carried the images of the Virgin and the consecrated host among the assassins, hoping thus to stop their fury. All was useless. The unfortunate Frenchmen were massacred by the men among whom they had dwelt for many years, and who, perhaps, had even subsisted on their benevolence.

Some of them, whom charitable Spaniards had saved from this Saint Bartholomew, found, on the following day, near the Plaza de Toros, a still more cruel death, because it was longer suspended over them.

In the name of Ferdinand VII., and with the usurped title of representative of the people, Balthazar Calvo now set himself up as sovereign of Valencia; he summoned into his presence the Captain-general, and threatened him with death in case of disobedience; he compelled the intendant to give him money; he did not hesitate to send the most insolent messages to the Archbishop. By his orders a Junta was about to be formed, to replace that which he had abolished.

But the oppressed and threatened magistrates recovered their courage; they contrived the means of drawing the tyrant from the citadel, whence he issued his orders. For the first time, they ventured then to reproach him with his crimes. Calvo was then arrested; and in order that the populace, whose fury was now neutralized, might not be tempted to liberate him, he was sent to a prison, called the Angel's Tower, in the island of Majorca. While he was in confinement, the Junta proceeded to try him. The Robespierre of Valencia was unanimously condemned to be strangled. After the execution, his corpse was brought back to the city in which he had committed such atrocities, and was exposed in the Square of St. Dominic, opposite the

citadel, with the following inscription:—"Traitor to his country, and leader of assassins."

It rarely happens that popular convulsions, however horrible may be the circumstances attending them, have any prejudicial effect on the defence of the community: it is, indeed, quite the contrary; for the excited passions usually turn with greater violence against the attack of external enemies. When the news was brought to Valencia that the French had passed the Tagus, the warlike ardour of the inhabitants soared to a higher pitch; not only the defence of the city, but of the whole country, was thought of; the defiles leading into Catalonia were fortified; and troops were sent to Almanza, to act in conjunction with those of Murcia, and push forward advanced-posts on Chinchilla and Albacete. The most serious defensive dispositions were made in the defiles of Castile, through which it was known that Marshal Moncey was to pass.

Two or three thousand armed peasants, supported by a corps of eight hundred Swiss troops of the line, waited for the enemy at the bridge of Pajazo, behind the Cabriel. They built their hopes of resistance on a little earth which they had thrown up, in the resemblance of a bridge-head, and on four pieces of cannon, which they flattered themselves they could use, while, on the other hand, their opponents could bring none. The Cabriel flows in a valley sunk between mountains. The road, in this spot, is nothing but a crooked and occasionally



steep path, terminating near the Venta de los Contreros, at the bridge of Pajazo, which is of stone, like almost all the Spanish bridges, and has only one arch.

The French came in presence of their enemies on the morning of the 21st. The artillery had obstacles to surmount before it could be brought up. Brigadier-general Couin, who commanded it, succeeded, however, in getting up into the rocks two eight-pounders and a howitzer, which battered the rear of the bridge. As soon as they had opened their cannonade, the Marshal dispatched two battalions in column against the bridge-head, while a detachment forded the Cabriel. The Spanish post was forced, and, with the loss of three pieces of cannon, twenty men killed, and eighteen prisoners, they fell back on the position of Cabrillas, where their army was entrenched. The French lost nine men killed or wounded. Two hundred and thirty-three Swiss or Spanish guards went over to the victors.

The mass of calcareous mountains, which is known by the name of Cabrillas, in consequence of the great number of goats (*cabras*) that browse there, forms as it were a thick rampart, which bounds on the west the kingdom of Valencia. There is but one road by which cannon can possibly be conveyed, and that road, cut in the rock, alternately rises and sinks in very steep declivities. The Valencian army was entrenched on the principal passage, between Siete Aguas and the Venta of Buñol. It consisted of

fragments of the Spanish guards, of the regiment of America, the dragoons of Numantia, and the Swiss regiments of Reding No. 2, and of Præux, forming a total of two thousand men, who had hastened, one by one, or in small parties, from the neighbourhood of Madrid. The rest was composed of seven or eight thousand men of the new levy, not yet clothed in uniforms. The position was defended by twelve pieces of cannon. This force was under the command of Don Joseph Caro, a man of courage and resolution, whose name was dear to the inhabitants of the country, for the sake of Don Ventura Caro, his uncle, who, in 1795, commanded against the French, and had recently died a Captain-general of the army.

With such enemies, the most difficult thing, for experienced soldiers, is to come at them. The French marched by the way of Utiel, leaving on the left the town of Reguena, which sent to offer its submission. Three days were occupied in bringing up the artillery from the bridge of Pajazo. It arrived at Venta Quemada, on the noon of the 24th. The only point by which the invaders could open out into attacking order was overlooked by a swarm of sharp-shooters, which, from the tops of the ridges, kept up a hot fire. As soon as Marshal Moncey perceived the enemy's main body, he resolved to turn them; he detached, by his left, on the Sierra de las Ajos, which commands the defile of Cabrillas, on the northern side, several picked companies,

which he put under the orders of Brigadier-general Harispe, the chief of his staff. This column scaled the mountains, drove the insurgents from rock to rock in a space of three leagues, and took from them two pieces of cannon and a standard. When the Marshal learned that Harispe had made the desired progress, he attacked the defile in front. The Spaniards fled, leaving behind them all their cannon and baggage, a hundred dead, and more than five hundred prisoners. The loss of the French was less than fifty men killed and wounded.

In the hottest time of the summer, the French had just been traversing the barren plains and the arid and naked rocks of Old Castile. All at once from the summit of the Cabrillas, they saw spread before them the spectacle of those fields, luxuriant in verdure and riches, which the Spaniards, in their just enthusiasm, call the Garden of Valencia: (*huerta de Valencia*.) Not with a more lively joy did the Israelites quit the desert, and set foot on the promised land. There seemed to be nothing that could now obstruct the entrance of the troops into Valencia. The vanquished army had wholly disappeared, with the exception of a Swiss battalion, which, little solicitous to preserve the reputation for fidelity that their countrymen have acquired, went over from the ranks of the vanquished to the camp of the victor. Constant in his kindness to the Spaniards, Moncey dismissed to their homes all the prisoners who were not in uniform. He invited the Captain-general,



Count de la Conquesta, and Count de Cervellon, the Commander of the troops, to receive him as a friend, and protested to them that he was desirous to restore order and public tranquillity.

From Portillo de Cabrillas to Valencia is but seven leagues. To hurry over them and to enter the city with the fugitives, was the plan which suited the circumstances; but the artillery could not follow; and the carriages had broken down, and had exhausted all the means of repair. The army, therefore, halted, during the 25th, at the Venta of Buñol, to wait for the coming up of the carriages. On the 26th it bivouacked beyond Chiva. It was not till the 27th that it continued its march, with the hope of that day reaching the end of its labours.

Valencia contains a population of a hundred thousand souls. It is inclosed by an old stone wall, of no great height, but thick, in good preservation, and flanked by towers. The citadel, which is small and badly fortified, can contribute nothing towards defence. The suburbs and country-houses extend everywhere to the foot of the walls, so that, at a certain distance, the spectator imagines that he has under his eyes one of the largest cities of the world.

No sooner was the defeat at Cabrillas known, than the Junta issued a proclamation, that the inhabitants of every age and rank must proceed to the citadel to receive arms. To those for whom there were no muskets, cutting and thrusting weapons were given, among which were even sword-blades without



hills. The heavy cannon were taken from the citadel, and placed on the walls. The strongest battery was established at the Quarta Gate, by which the French would have to enter. The streets were barricaded with timber and rubbish; water was let into the ditches of the city; and there was even time to cut trenches across the high roads, to prevent the cavalry from acting.

At a league and a half from Valencia, the French met the remains of the corps with which they had been fighting at Cabrillas. Don Joseph Caro was posted on the bank of a canal, by which the Guadalaviar communicates with the Fera. He had stationed a considerable force at the locks, and with two pieces of cannon he battered the broken bridge of the high road, while a swarm of peasants, crouching in the hemp fields, and behind the trees with which the plain is covered, harassed, by a very warm fire of sharp-shooters, the march of the French. The Marshal brought up his artillery, and formed several columns of attack. In less than an hour, the canal was passed, and the enemy's line was broken. Five pieces of cannon and a standard were taken. The bridge was repaired; and the victors were masters of the suburb of Quarta.

At daybreak, on the 28th, the French continued their march, constantly annoyed by the fire of the peasants. They had no difficulty, however, in driving into the city all that were on the outside. Being summoned to open their gates, the inhabitants re-

plied, that they were resolved to bury themselves under the ruins of their country. This was the will of the people; the archbishop, the captain-general, the nobles, and the rich, could not do otherwise than act in obedience to it.

At three in the afternoon, the troops concentrated themselves behind the enclosures and plantations, and formed columns of attack by echelons, within half cannon shot of the gates of San Joseph and of Quarta. Two batteries directed their fire against those two points. Four companies of light troops were scattered along the front of operation, to draw the attention of the enemy, and weaken by diverting it to a variety of quarters. At a given signal the columns rushed forward with French impetuosity. Already the bravest are at the foot of the walls. Some break open the gate of Quarta, but behind it they find a newly constructed barrier. They strive to tear away pieces of this barrier; the chevaux de frise are replaced as fast as they are removed. At the attack of San Joseph, the ditches full of water were too deep to be passed in any other way than by swimming. What could the troops do, however full of ardour they might be, when opposed by such obstacles as these?

Nor were the Valencians deficient either in valour or in discipline. They obeyed with coolness the orders which were issued by the military leaders and the magistrates. Their artillery poured forth a hail of grape-shot, and their musketry, directed from the

ramparts, the roofs, the steeples, swept off whole ranks of the assailants. The approaches to the two gates were soon nothing but piles of dead and wounded. The artillery of the attack was in part dismounted by the superior fire, with respect to calibre, number, and situation, of the artillery of the defence. The French nevertheless did not lose ground while the sun remained above the horizon.

At night, the retreat was made in good order, and the troops were united in the camp of the preceding evening, between Mislata and Quarta. The army had lost nearly two thousand killed and wounded. In the number of the first was Major Blanc, the commander of the third provisional regiment, Colonel Dumont, and several officers. Among the latter was Cazal, General of Engineers. The Spaniards, on the contrary, having been sheltered while they fired, had suffered but a small loss. Moncey had but three thousand five hundred men left, fit for action. He was overburthened with carriages for the wounded and other purposes, and with parks of equipment. The infantry had consumed a large quantity of ammunition, and the artillery was in want of it. For a fortnight the communication with Madrid had been cut off. It was known that the insurrection had spread to Cuenca and everywhere else in the rear. Of Chabran's division there was no news, and it seemed probable that not one of the messages which had been sent to him had ever reached him. The affair of Valencia was not

an affair of men, but of artillery. A second attack on that city had still less chance of success than the first, since the number of the assailants was diminished, and the spirits of the defenders were increased; and, even were it to succeed, what would become of five thousand men, thrown, at sixty leagues from Madrid, into the midst of accumulated enemies, and without any support behind them?

For a moment Moncey entertained the idea of crossing the Guadalaviar, marching towards Catalonia in search of Chabran, and returning with him to reduce Valencia; but, on considering that that General was probably not arrived at Tortosa, he decided on a simple retreat; and, in order to avoid the enormous difficulties of the road by which he came, he resolved to take that of Almanza. In consequence, and that he might keep the Valencians in uncertainty as to what movement he intended to make, he took, on the evening of the 29th, a position between Quarta and Torrente.

On the 30th, he learned that the Count de Cervellon had put himself at the head of a corps, which was disposed to prevent the French from repassing the Xucar. The army decamped on the following night. It arrived in the neighbourhood of Albergea on the morning of the 1st of July. The Spaniards, six thousand strong, most of them armed peasants, were behind the Xucar, with two pieces of cannon, and had a sort of advanced-guard on the left bank. The French hussars put the latter to



flight; but the river was still to be crossed, and the bridge was broken. The army spread itself on the right, to find a ford; and the sluices of the canal, which is drawn from the river, and bears the name of Acequia del Rey, were opened to render the passage more easy. A cannonade was kept up from the one bank to the other. As soon as the ford was found, the cavalry dashed in, and was followed by the infantry. A part of the Spanish corps fled in disorder towards Alcira. The remainder, with two pieces of cannon, retreated by the high road.

In the night of the 2d, the French took up a position at the foot of the Puerto. They marched against the enemy on the ensuing day. They found there two or three thousand fugitives from the Xucá, who made a feeble resistance, abandoned their cannon, and dispersed. The corps of Marshal Moncey spent the day in the town of Almanza, famous for the victory in 1707, gained there by the Marshal Berwick.

Moncey continued, without farther molestation, his march to Albacete, a city containing eight thousand souls, situated at the point where the high road from Madrid branches off to Valencia and to Murcia. It was to this place that, while he was at Cuenca, the Marshal had directed the reinforcements to be forwarded, which were to support his movements by the right flank. On his arrival there, he was informed that a corps of French troops had been seen at Cuenca and at Yniesta.

## **BOOK V.**

### **THE INVASION OF SPAIN.**

The Corps-d'armée of the Western Pyrenees commences operations—Marshal Bessières sends Verdier's division against Logroño in insurrection—Order of the Emperor to appease the revolt at Santander—March of General Merle—He receives counter-orders—Insurrection at Valladolid—General Lasalle marches against it—Torquemada sacked and burnt—The Spanish General Cuesta defends the position of Cabezon—The divisions of Merle and Lasalle united at Duenas—Attack of the bridge at Cabezon, and rout of the Spaniards—Submission of Valladolid—Marshal Bessières orders a fresh expedition against Santander—Generals Merle and Ducos disperse the enemy and enter Santander—Effects produced by the 2d of May in Arragon—Rising at Sarragossa—The people proclaim Palafox Captain-general—Formation of the Army of Arragon—General Lefebvre-Desnouettes marches against Sarragossa—Battle of Tudela—Passage of the Xalon—Battle before Sarragossa—Determination to defend it—The place invested—Insurrection of Galicia—The army of Galicia formed at Lugo—Blake General-in-chief—Junction of the forces of Blake and Cuesta—Marshal Bessières concentrates his forces—Arrival of Mouton's division—Generals Blake and Cuesta take position at Medina de Rio-Seco—Battle at that place—Retreat of the Spaniards by the road of Benavente—The French army receives reinforcements—Siege of Sarragossa—Storming of the Convent of St. Joseph—Arrival of Colonel Lacoste, Aid-de-camp to the Emperor—The convent of Santa Ingracia taken—Order of King Joseph to raise the siege—The French army retires on Tudela—Reflections.

## BOOK V.

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### INVASION OF SPAIN.

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THE insurrection was the more formidable, because it attacked more closely the base upon which the French were operating in Spain. The risings in Andalusia and in the kingdom of Valencia could not but arrest their progress, at least engage their vanguard, and throw them back on their forces placed in echelon in their rear. The successes obtained by the insurgents in Old Castile, in the Asturias, in Arragon, in Biscay, and in Navarre, shut out the vanquished from the defiles of the Pyrenees, and transformed into a tomb for them the noble country which their ambitious leader had regarded as so easy a prey.

The corps-d'armée of the Western Pyrenees was instructed to put down what was called the revolt, within the radius of its activity, on all the points where columns could march, to act and strike, without fear of their return being prevented. Marshal Bessières directed the movements, and kept himself in readiness at his head-quarters at Burgos, to



proceed with his reserve, consisting of the fusileers of the guard.

La Rioja, one of the most fertile and populous provinces of Spain, had risen. Calahorra and Logroño were the principal hot-beds of the insurrection. Some ardent characters, one of whom was a stonemason, had formed a Junta, and removed the magistrates and timid proprietors from authority. General Verdier left Vittoria on the 2nd of June with two battalions, and one hundred and fifty horse, and invested Logroño on the 6th. The Spaniards were put to the rout before the French troops had time to attack them. They then entered the town, and took six wretched pieces of cannon, which had been dug out and mounted by the peasants, who did not know how to use them. Verdier made some examples, restored the constituted authorities, and returned to Vittoria.

In order to preserve Vittoria during the absence of the French troops, two weak Portuguese regiments were brought back into the town. The spirit which actuated the soldiers of that nation, their continual desertions, the discontent which their officers, with all their skill, could not help betraying, proved to the French that they were not to be relied upon, and that if such troops were to be kept in Spain, they could only be employed when close to French battalions, and that special care was to be taken not to entrust them with any insulated posts.

The insurrectional movement of the province of

Santander was of a nature to alarm the Emperor, who was not ignorant that armaments were preparing and troops collecting in the ports of England. The British ministry were looking out for the point in Spain where the French would be most easily and most deeply vulnerable. The Asturias and the mountainous provinces offered very tempting chances. English officers had been sent to explore the country, and to stir up public opinion. The ports of Santander and of Santona presented excellent asylums for fleets. A thick chain of high mountains separates the province from that of Burgos. The high road from Santander to Burgos by Reynosa is practicable for carriages. Once arrived at Reynosa, Castile is open. An active and laborious population only asked for arms and pecuniary aid. The Bishop of Santander, Don Rafael Mendez de Luarca,\* had put himself at the head of the revolt. Under the banners of such a chief, peasants, priests, and nobles, all became the soldiers of the country.

Not satisfied with having raised the province, the Bishop of Santander sent emissaries to the other side of the mountains, in order to propagate the insurrection. In a short time the Spanish out-posts had got beyond Reynosa. They entrenched and lined with cannon the defiles of Lahoz, upon the high-road; they put into a state of defence the Venta del Puerto

\* Rich, like all the other Spanish Bishops, he did not spend 300 piastres a-year on himself. A holy man, rigid to himself, and revered by all.

del Escudo, one of the principal passages of the great chain of mountains upon the other road from Burgos to Santander, through Trambas Mestas and Vargas. They also placed cannon at Puerto de los Tomos, on the road from Santana to Burgos, between Nestosa and Espinosa de los Monteros.

The Emperor gave orders that a corps of troops should be sent to Santander, sufficiently numerous to reduce the province to order, and subsequently to keep military occupation of it.

The General of Division, Merle, left Burgos on the 2nd of June, with six battalions, two hundred cavalry, eight pieces of cannon, and biscuit for eight days. On the 5th he arrived at Reynosa, quite unexpected by the Spaniards. Their vanguard, which had come as far as Canduela with four pieces, retreated on the approach of the French, and passed rapidly through Reynosa, carrying with it all the money from the public chests, and the provisions which had been collected there.

General Merle was preparing to continue his movement on Santander; but he received orders to halt, as Valladolid was in insurrection. A numerous mass of peasantry had taken arms, and a few soldiers of the line, of the Queen's regiment of cavalry formed the *nucleus* of the army. The Captain-general for some time resisted the movement, but was at last obliged to take the command of it, in order to escape being made its victim. Valladolid is the most important city in the north of Spain, having



a population of twenty-five thousand souls. A cathedral, fifteen parish churches, and five chapels, forty-six convents, and twenty-seven establishments for charity and education, entrusted to the management of the clergy, are sufficient proofs of the enormous influence of that body. A regiment might here be raised of priests exclusively. This city is the residence of the Captain-general of Old Castile, and of the Court of Chancery, the highest court of justice of the kingdom. Within a circumference which formerly contained one hundred thousand inhabitants, twenty-five thousand are now scattered about; the empty space is filled by recollections. As the insurrection was rapidly extending, surrounding Burgos, and cutting off the communication with Madrid, Marshal Bessières considered the danger more pressing on this side than towards Santander, and therefore postponed the expedition to the last-mentioned place.

General Lasalle received orders to march on Valladolid with four battalions, seven hundred cavalry of the tenth hussars and twenty-second horse-chasseurs, and six pieces of cannon. On the 5th of June he left Burgos, and on the evening of the 6th he arrived before Torquemada. This large town is situated on the right bank of the Pisuerga. The left bank is open, and overlooked. A stone bridge, four hundred fathoms long, went across the river. Five hundred armed peasants occupied the houses and the church of Torquemada, and they



barred the passage of the bridge with chains and waggons. The vanguard of General Lasalle, consisting of a company of voltigeurs and fifty horsemen, was not stopped by the irregular and ill-directed fire of the peasants. The infantry precipitated itself against the bridge at double-quick time, broke the bar of chains, threw the waggons into the river and carried the town. The peasants took to flight and the cavalry sabred great numbers of them. The French had only two wounded. Torrequemada was sacked and burnt.

The usages of war authorized this cruel proceeding, and it was perhaps necessary to display a salutary rigour in the first instance, in order to nip the evil in the bud. In these wars against an armed population, the fury of the soldier is always pushed beyond the general's orders. In proportion as he is disposed to be generous towards persons of his own profession, in the same proportion he is cruel towards armed peasantry; it is not a sentiment of blind rage which actuates him, but, on the contrary, an exact appreciation of the disparity of means, of the species of treachery, and of the dreadful fate which awaits him if he fall into such hands. It is difficult, if not quite impossible, to maintain discipline against such antagonists. The destruction of Torrequemada was a real misfortune to the French army. The town was important, on account of its bridge over the Pisuerga; it must have been occupied for a length of time. By destroying it, the French de-

prived themselves of the resources which it would have afforded them during the whole of the war. In war, still more than in ordinary life, evil most frequently reverts upon its author. Even if morality did not forbid useless crimes, it would be necessary to prevent them, for the benefit of those who are led to commit them from ignorance or passion. In war, crimes are almost always faults.

On the 7th, the troops of General Lasalle arrived at Palencia. The sack and burning of Torrequemada had struck terror into that city. Three or four thousand Spaniards, commanded by Marechal-de-camp Don Diego Tordesillas, hastened to proceed to Leon. The Bishop of Palencia interceded for mercy for his city. Several of the French officers and soldiers who had been arrested at the moment of the insurrection, had been wrested by the clergy from the fury of the populace. The French entered the town amicably, and proceeded to disarm the inhabitants of the province.

The Spanish General Cuesta occupied the excellent position at Cabezon, two leagues from Valladolid. He had collected at that point between five and six thousand armed peasants, and a thousand soldiers, among whom were some of the body-guards, and a detachment of three hundred horsemen from the Queen's regiment of cavalry. His army was farther increased by some of the fugitives from the disaster of Segovia. In place of destroying, or at least of blocking up, the bridge over the Pisuerga, and

taking position on the left bank, General Cuesta placed his troops on the right bank, having consequently the defile in his rear. The passage of the bridge was defended by four pieces of cannon. With such a disposition, one might be certain that the very best troops would be beaten. How much more was that likely, with men devoid of experience, and possessed of no other talent than devotion and patriotism.

Marshal Bessières, anxious to crush the insurrection, and looking on Valladolid as its principal focus, was resolved against all half-measures. General Merle's division was ordered to quit Reynosa, and to come and support the operations of General Lasalle. The latter, while waiting for reinforcements, sent a summons to General Cuesta to lay down his arms, and another to the civil authorities of Valladolid to acknowledge the French authority, with a promise to treat the inhabitants with clemency; both letters remained unanswered. The bearers of them were ill-used, and would probably have been put to death, had not care been taken to select priests for the mission.

On the 11th, the two French divisions were united at Dueñas, a little village six leagues from Valladolid, below the junction of the Carrion with the Pisuerga. The Generals settled the plan of attack of the position of Cabezon. General Lasalle's division was to march by the high road to Valladolid, and attack the Spaniards in front; General Merle's



division was to proceed by Cigalès, Fuensaldaña, and Zaratas, in order to cut them off from the road to Leon. General Cuesta's dispositions on the right bank of the Pisuerga, in front of Cabezon, warranted the supposition that he meant to retreat upon that town.

On the 12th, at six in the morning, the divisions began their march in the direction previously agreed upon. An out-post of fifty Spanish horse, stationed at the Venta de Trigueros, fell back on the approach of the French troops. General Lasalle deployed his cavalry, and caused it to advance in order of battle on the plateau to the right of the road. The infantry was formed in two columns, one of which pushed on straight towards the bridge, while the other proceeded along the bank of the Pisuerga, masked by the convent of Palazuelos. The fire of the sharpshooters commenced. A battery of six pieces of cannon was placed in front of the bridge of Cabezon, and enfiladed its whole length.

The Spanish artillery, badly equipped and wretchedly worked, replied very feebly to the force of the French artillery. The chief of the squadron, Watiez, at the head of fifty cavalry, and supported by a battalion, was preparing to charge the Spanish battery, when the Spaniards, observing his intention, became alarmed, and took to their heels. Those who were on the right bank of the river, repassed the bridge in disorder. Twenty horse-chasseurs of the 22nd cut their way through this crowd, and



carried off the four pieces, after sabring the gunners. This movement was followed by the infantry. The voltigeurs ran nearly as fast as the horses. As the Spaniards still attempted to make a feeble resistance behind Cabezon, they were again attacked. Their cavalry took to flight; five or six hundred peasants were cut to pieces; a great number of them had been already drowned in the Pisuerga. Besides the four pieces of cannon, four thousand muskets were left upon the field of battle.

At the noise of the first musket-shots, the division of General Merle quitted the road to Cigalès, where they had found no enemies, turned the head of their column to the left, rejoined General Lasalle's division, and assisted in the pursuit of the Spaniards.

This action, which was conducted with resolution and audacity, cost the French only twelve men killed and thirty wounded. The position of Cabezon, attacked in front, if it had been defended by good soldiers, would have been impregnable. But the insurrectionary levies were quite powerless against regular troops. Nothing however could be more foolish than to argue, as some did, from this admitted inferiority, that the conquest of Spain was an easy matter.

The French generals halted their troops at the distance of a league from Valladolid. They were unwilling that the ardour of pursuit should lead to the plunder of that city. Marshal Bessières had recommended them to treat the officers and soldiers

of the regular troops generously, but especially to spare Valladolid. The example of Torrequemada was sufficient to impress a salutary terror.

At four in the afternoon, the principal inhabitants of the city, with the Bishop and the members of the Chancery at their head, came out to meet the victor, and to submit themselves and their fellow-citizens to his mercy. The French troops took possession of the town.

The 13th, 14th, and 15th, were occupied in carrying away from the arsenal, the cannon, muskets, and warlike ammunition found there, and in forwarding to Burgos fifty hostages, selected from the persons of the greatest influence by birth, employments, personal character, or wealth.

Neither clemency nor severity answered any purpose. The proclamation of Joseph Napoleon, King of Spain and the Indies, was not of a nature to give a favourable change to public opinion. Wherever the French arms were carried, the Generals compelled the persons in authority to take the oath of allegiance to the new King. The towns sent deputations to him, the clergy sang *Te Deums*; the insurgents were beaten, but the insurrection was not put down. In a short time it became necessary to extend the measure of disarming to all the provinces of the North of Spain. This raised the anger of proud men to the highest pitch. The soldiers of the regiment of Calatrava, which garrisoned Burgos, deserted daily: it was obliged to be

disbanded. The roads became unsafe. Single soldiers carrying despatches were assassinated. Marshal Bessières was obliged to take measures of civil police. The monks, curates, and alcaides, were made responsible for disorders, which they had most frequently no power to anticipate or to prevent.

The expedition against Santander had been only delayed by the movements at Valladolid. Marshal Bessières gave orders for its being resumed. The insurgents had returned in great numbers to Reynosa. They had pushed troops as far as Aguilar de Campo and Herrera.

On the 16th General Lasalle evacuated Valladolid, and went to take position at Palencia, behind the Carrion. He was ordered to cover Burgos with two battalions, two regiments of cavalry, and four pieces of cannon. His instructions were, to keep a good look-out on Benavente and Medina de Rio Seco, where General Cuesta had retired to, after the disaster at Valladolid; to keep up his communication with General Merle, who was marching against Santander; and in case the enemy showed himself, to fall back without fighting.

General Merle set out on the 15th from Valladolid, and arrived on the 20th at Reynosa, meeting with no resistance. His force amounted to ten battalions, one hundred cavalry, and ten pieces of artillery.

The General of Brigade, Ducos, left Miranda del Ebro on the 16th, with four battalions and fifty horses. He directed his course by Frias and Son-

cillo. On the 20th he arrived at the fort of Puerto del Escudo.

The Spanish insurgents waited for the French, prepared to defend the Venta del Escudo. Their masses were drawn up on the mountains, and in the range of defiles through which the high road passes between Reynosa and Barcena de Pic de Concha. Eight hundred men, with two eighteen-pounders, were posted close to Lantueno. Another corps of equal strength was posted at the elbow of the high road between Pesquera and La Venta de Bierna.

General Merle left his artillery at Reynosa, under the protection of two battalions, as it could only serve to embarrass him in the march he was about to make. On the 21st, at sunrise, he put the rest of his troops in motion. Two columns, of three battalions each, scaled the mountains to the right and left, and proceeded along their summits. The General himself marched with two battalions along the high road. When he arrived at Lantueno, he was received with some discharges of cannon and musketry. The drums instantly beat the charge; the two eighteen-pounders were captured; the Spaniards took to flight. The wing-columns overthrew all they met with. Five companies, detached as sharpshooters, were sufficient to put to the rout the corps of the insurgents, which was posted at the Venta de Bierna. The same evening the three French columns were united at Barcena de Pic de Concha.



258 GENERAL MERLE ENTERS SANTANDER.

General Ducos, on the same day, carried the strong position of Puerto del Escudo, where there were two thousand insurgents and four pieces of cannon.

On the 22d, General Merle continued his march in three columns. Between Las Fraguas and Somahoz, the road is scooped out of the rock for the space of three quarters of a mile; on one side rises a perpendicular mountain, on the other is a deep precipice, at the bottom of which flows the Besaya. The Spaniards had barred the defile by an enormous *abattis* of two hundred feet deep, behind which two four-pounders and a body of troops were placed to defend it. The Spaniards, seeing the progress of the right and left columns on their flanks and in their rear, did not wait to be attacked in front, but retreated in great haste, while the French were destroying the *abattis*. General Merle united his forces at Somahoz, and led them the same day to Torre-Lavega.

On the 23d he entered Santander. The brigade of General Ducos, which had gone by the road of Puerto del Escudo and Trambas Mestas, arrived there the same day.

The Bishop of Santander and the insurrectional Junta took refuge in the Asturias. The English frigate, the *Cossack*, which had made its appearance in the roads two days previously, landed a detachment in order to blow up and spike the cannon which guarded the entrance of the harbour. The

French advanced guard compelled it to re-embark. The body of the insurrection was thus dissolved, without bloodshed.

The events of the 2d of May had resounded through Arragon.\* The Arragonese, long the enemies and always the rivals of the Castilians, now showed as much love for their country, and equal fidelity to their unfortunate sovereign. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, they had honoured themselves by fighting *against* the Bourbons; at the beginning of the nineteenth, they immortalized themselves by fighting *for* them. When Sarragossa rose, its pusillanimous chiefs showed themselves incapable of directing a people whose passions were completely roused. On the 29th of May, twenty thousand of its citizens proclaimed Don Josef Revollo de Palafox, Captain-general of Arragon. Palafox belonged to one of the oldest and most respected families in the province. Very young, handsome, and inexperienced, possessed of no other accomplishments than playing on the guitar, dancing, and graceful horsemanship, brigadier of the King's body-guards, his sole recommendation to the confidence of the people was his fidelity to Ferdinand VII., whom he had accompanied to Bayonne. He was looked upon as the depository of his Sovereign's last commands. He was

\* As the Bourbons had treated Arragon as a conquered province, a sentiment of hatred to them was kept up there, and the malcontents were still denominated *The Arragonese party*.

not yet known to possess either capacity or energy. But he showed himself worthy of the confidence of the people: he instantly put an end to all the popular commotions, and exhibited the strongest sense of the dignity and duties of his office. As he had been named by inspiration, he justified the old adage: *Vox populi, vox Dei*.

The kingdom of Arragon was destitute of troops of the line, of arms and of ammunition. All these were created by patriotism and the thirst for vengeance. The Captain-general called out the officers and soldiers on half-pay; they formed, with some remains of troops of the line, the *nucleus* of the army of Arragon. The soldiers who had deserted from the provinces occupied by the French, came and enlisted in the new regiments. Some even came from Madrid and Pampeluna. Engineer-officers came from the school of Alcala, where they were employed in instruction. New battalions were created, in which the students enlisted themselves. To these corps was given the name of *tercios*, under which the famous Spanish bands, in the sixteenth century, had filled Italy with their renown. An artillery equipage of sixteen pieces was organized. The muskets in the arsenal and dispersed throughout the country were collected. Pikes were manufactured. Powder was obtained from the manufactory of Villa Feliche.

So large a force, organized with so much celerity at thirty leagues distance from the French frontier,

struck at the very foundation of the edifice which Napoleon wished to erect in Spain. The Emperor did not wait, in order to extinguish this conflagration, till the flames had reached the Pyrenees. He ordered Lefebvre-Desnouettes, General-of-brigade, to march against Sarragossa with five thousand foot, eight hundred horse, and some pieces of field artillery.

The corps of General Lefebvre-Desnouettes was assembled at Pampeluna. The first and second regiments of the Vistula formed the third part of his infantry. His cavalry consisted almost entirely of a regiment of Polish Lancers. The General had also with him a few pieces of field artillery. Who could have imagined that a city, with a population of fifty thousand souls, and destitute of fortifications, could stand a siege?

On the 7th, he appeared before Tudela. General Palafox, informed of his march, had sent into that town five hundred fusileers of Arragon, under the orders of his elder brother, the Marquis de Lazan, for the purpose of defending the passage of the Ebro, in concert with the armed population. The bridge was broke. The French crossed the river in boats, carried the town, and took some old pieces of artillery which the inhabitants had dug up. After repairing the bridge, which was necessary for keeping up the communication with Pampeluna, they continued their march to Sarragossa.

Informed of the passage of the Ebro, General Palafox went to meet the enemy, at the head of



nine thousand newly raised troops, half armed and undisciplined, two hundred cavalry of the line, and eight guns worked by old artillery-men, badly organized, however, for field service. He took position at Mallén, on the rivulet of Huecha. On the 13th the French army made its appearance. The fire of artillery and musketry lasted a very short time. The Arragonese, being quite unable to resist a vigorous charge of the Polish Lancers, were broke and put to the rout, with the loss of five pieces of cannon.\*

The Arragonese certainly were not deficient either in courage or devotedness. They have since proved to Europe that they knew how to die for their country and its independence. But they had not yet learned that military system which unites individual forces in one solid mass, to render them more disposable and more terrible. They had not been exercised in manœuvres. They were not steeled against the moral impression which is caused by the approach of danger. Such young troops cannot be brought into the field with impunity, to meet well-trained soldiers. The cavalry, and especially the cavalry armed with lances, is the terror of newly raised troops. The sabre strikes at the distance of

\* Palafox was accused of rashness for having ventured to meet the victorious army of Europe, at the head of an undisciplined peasantry. Fortunate are the nations in which, during political convulsions, some men are to be found capable of similar acts of rashness !

two paces; the lance will reach to twenty. Hedges, bushes, and every sort of obstacle, will not protect the runaway from it.

The French army made no halt after the victory.

A fruitless attempt was made to dispute the passage of the Xalon. On the 14th it took Alagon. On the 16th it was at the gates of Sarragossa.

There was some firing in the olive-plantations which surround the city. The Arragonese returned in disorder within the compass of their walls. A French battalion ventured to follow them, and advanced along the great street of the Courso, as far as the convent of Santa Ingracia. It did not meet with any serious resistance; but observing the preparations making for defence, it was afraid that the people were only waiting until it had penetrated farther into the town in order to surround it. In such a situation the Polish lances would have been quite powerless; the order of old troops would have answered no purpose, when it became necessary to break and disperse themselves in order to attack and vanquish.

The retreat of the French battalion emboldened the populace of Sarragossa, and was the signal of defence. Four-and-twenty hours were quite sufficient to put the city out of fear of any surprise.

Sarragossa, which derives its name from the Romans, is situated on the banks of the Ebro, in an extensive and fruitful plain, in the midst of groves, vineyards, fields of olive-trees, gardens, and



rural villas. The slope of the valley begins to ascend at the distance of four hundred fathom from the river. A plateau, called Monte Torrero commands the town at eight hundred fathom distance. The canal of Arragon runs at the bottom of the plateau, and nearly parallel with the river. On the left bank is a suburb which stands lower than the city. A fine stone bridge communicates from Sarragossa to this suburb.

The city is encompassed by a wall ten feet high and three feet thick, built with bricks and rough stones. A road planted with trees runs along this wall, nearly the whole of its extent. Churches built of stone, and convents built of brick, distributed partly in the heart of the city and partly in the outskirts, have the appearance of detached bastions.

The people of Sarragossa are robust, vigorous, fiery, seditious, and steeled against the intemperature of the air. Liberty has remained there longer than in any other city of Spain.

The determination to defend the city was not the result of any concerted plan between the military and civil authorities. History will ascribe the whole glory of it to the loyal and generous population, whose sublime instinct taught them to estimate their own strength, and who never hesitated to sacrifice their private interests to the most holy of causes. The Captain-general, despairing of saving the city, quitted Sarragossa on the very day the French entered it, by the suburb on the left bank of the Ebro,

with the remains of the army which had been beaten at Mallen; he was followed by the monks, the mob orators, and some of those who led the public opinion. His intention was to rally the troops, to call the country-people to arms, and to form a fresh army in order to fight the French again. He marched along the left bank of the Ebro, crossed it at Pina, proceeded to Belchite, and demanded succours of the Juntas of Soria, Sigüenza, and Valencia. The battalion of Versaye, an Arragonese officer of the Walloon Guards, had been sent, since the commencement of the insurrection, to Calatayud, in order to keep watch on the road to Madrid, from which an attack was expected; it now rejoined its commander-in-chief with three thousand newly raised soldiers. Palafox left Belchite, and arrived on the 21st at Almunia. His united army might consist of from five to six thousand infantry, one hundred cavalry, and four pieces of artillery. He might still try the fate of arms, and go to the assistance of the capital. The ardour of the soldiers, however, was a good deal cooled. The battles of Mallen and of Alagon had taught them that courage does not always supply the want of experience. The *sortie* from Saragossa had shaken their confidence. There were not wanting counsellors timid enough to propose a retreat upon Valencia, as the only means of not compromising the army. The young General announced that he would give passports to all who wished to go to Valencia. His address to the soldiers



was simply, "Let them that love me follow me" —and the whole army followed him.

On the 23d the Arragonese army began its march to Epila, in order to threaten the communication of the French with Tudela. General Lefebvre-Desnouettes was informed in the morning that the Spaniards were marching directly to meet him. At eight in the evening they arrived. He did not allow them time to form in order of battle, but instantly made a vigorous attack on them. They fled in all directions; their cannon were taken, and they lost two thousand men in killed and wounded. The survivors retreated to Calatayud.

The campaign of Arragon had not then cost the French two hundred men. General Palafox at last felt that the match was too unequal. His troops could not keep the field: behind walls, and encouraged by the population, they might do the enemy some injury. He remained a few days at Calatayud to rally the fugitives. He made his troops return to Sarragossa in two columns, and he himself re-entered the city on the 1st of July, sixteen days after he had left it. The battalion of Versaye remained at Calatayud with some depots, which were soon filled up with fresh recruits.

The first attempt of General Lefebvre-Desnouettes on Sarragossa had demonstrated the impossibility of taking the place with field-pieces. At Pampe-luna and at Bayonne a siege-equipage was formed of forty-six cannon, among which were four twelve-

inch mortars and twelve howitzers. A whole month was employed in expediting the carriages, and transporting the ammunition. At the end of June the General-of-division Verdier brought two thousand men with him before Sarragossa, and took the command of the siege, as the superior officer. The army received a farther reinforcement of eight hundred Portuguese, under the command of Lieutenant-general Gomez Freire. This reinforcement consisted of the fifth battalion of infantry, and a battalion of chasseurs, which had remained in Biscay since the passage of the corps of troops of the Marquis d'Alorne, but diminished by the continued desertions. Thus were the Portuguese soldiers, united with the French, about to combat and exterminate the Spaniards; while in Portugal their fathers and brothers, cordially uniting with the Spaniards, and making common cause with them, were carrying on a deadly war against the French.

The whole army employed against Sarragossa did not exceed eight thousand men. The city communicated with the country in every direction. No troops had yet appeared before the suburb on the left bank of the Ebro. The arrival of their reinforcements determined the besiegers to invest the place. On the 27th they obtained possession of the works on the Monte Torrero, badly defended by a thousand of the city militia, who kept garrison there; Monte Torrero is a hill which commands the city on the south side, at the distance of eight hundred

fathoms. On the top of this hill were vast and solidly constructed magazines, which contained timber for building, the iron tools, utensils, and workshops necessary for the service of the Royal Canal of Arragon. There materials were found to serve for the construction of a bridge of rafts. The zealous and skillful French engineers did in a week, what would in other armies have taken a month to execute. On the 11th of July some troops were thrown on the right bank of the Ebro, before the village of Saint Lambert. The Spanish troops, who attempted to oppose the passage of the river, were driven back into the suburb. On the 12th, the bridge of boats was fixed. The blockade of Sarragossa was then completed, and that term can be applied to the dispersion of eight thousand men round a circumference of three thousand fathoms, defended by twenty thousand armed men; a blockade which straitened, but never prevented the introduction of provisions into the place.

The investment of Sarragossa was preceded by several combats, sorties, and attacks, from within and from without: these we shall relate when the order of events brings us to the narrative of the siege.

After the defeat of Cabezon, General Cuesta collected the remains of his army at Benavente. He summoned the population of the kingdom of Leon to arms; he raised new levies; he waited for the army of Galicia.

The kingdom of Galicia is the most truly Catholic province of Spain. A host and chalice in its coat



of arms, attest the purity of its faith. It prides itself in the possession of the sanctuary of the holy Protector of Spain, of the General who vanquished the Moors. Notwithstanding its maritime connexions, the manners and customs of its inhabitants exhibit no proofs of the influence of foreign intercourse. The country population is virtuous and laborious; it has but one cry—*God and the King!*

The invasion of the French, the treachery of Bayonne, the executions of the 2d of May, produced as strong, perhaps a stronger, impression in Galicia than it had done anywhere. England availed herself of it. It is the point which is nearest to her.

Don Antonio Filangieri, Captain-general of the province, being old, was replaced by Don Joaquin Blake. This general, of Irish origin, was descended from the Blakes of the county of Galway. He was the son of a merchant of Velez-Malaga, and one of the best officers that the military school of Puerto de Santa Maria (established by Count O'Reilly) had produced. He had served in the regiment of America as lieutenant and adjutant. In the war of the Revolution he had made the campaign of Roussillon and of Catalonia, as major of the Castilian Volunteers; he was wounded at the capture of the heights of San Lorenzo de la Maya. After the peace he was made colonel of the crown volunteers. The Spanish revolution found him a brigadier. His nomination to the rank of marechal-de-camp was one of the last acts of the government of Charles IV.



The universal voice of Galicia called him to the supreme command.

The army of Galicia was formed at Lugo during the month of June. The people enlisted with the greatest eagerness in the battalions of volunteers. England sent fifty thousand muskets and suits of clothing. From the floating tombs in which she heaped up her prisoners, she had exhumed all the Spaniards whom the breach of treaties as much as the force of arms had thrown into her power. These were newly clothed, armed, equipped, and sent to Corunna. Lieutenant-colonel Doyle and other English officers who had accompanied the transport remained with the Spanish troops, to superintend and direct the employment of the means supplied by the British nation.

The return of the Spanish troops from the North of Portugal, composed of the King's regiment, called *Immemorial*,\* the regiments of Sarragossa, Majorca, Arragon, Naples, Navarre, Balbastro, Girona, and others, increased the new army. It was formed into four divisions; the two strongest and best organized left Lugo at the end of June with General Blake. They crossed the mountains, and arrived on the 6th of July at Benavente, where the junction of the army of Galicia was effected with the remains which had been rallied by General Cuesta.

\* So called, because its original formation goes back as far as Ferdinand and Isabella, and the exact date is unknown.

and to which the pompous name of the *Army of Castile* had been given.

Marshal Bessières was not informed of the departure of the Spanish troops from Portugal; but he knew vaguely that an army was forming in Galicia. Some random reports announced the landing of the English, but more certain intelligence made it no longer doubtful that General Cuesta was forming a new army behind the Esla. The French general foresaw that the time was not far distant when his right flank would be menaced by considerable forces, and that he would be compelled to unite the whole of his own to enable him to go and meet the enemy. General Lasalle, who commanded the vanguard at Palencia, was obliged to send his scouts in every direction, through the close and fertile country circumscribed by the Carrion, the Douro, the Esla, and the mountains of Asturias. General Merle's division was called back to Palencia. At Santander only three battalions were left under General Gaulois. The works of the fortresses of Pancorvo and Burgos were completed so as to secure them against a coup-detmain; the latter was put in a condition to keep this great city in check, as it would probably be soon left to itself. The artillery and victualling services had been made so as to render the army moveable and strong.

The corps-d'armée of the Western Pyrenees was weakened by the continual movement of corps of stragglers and supplementary battalions on Madrid,

and especially by the departure of the troops sent to besiege Saragossa. To fill up the vacuum in the fourth light, the fifteenth of the line, and the rest of the Parisian Guard, entered Spain; they formed a division under the orders of General Mouton, the Emperor's aid-de-camp.\* This was the first time that regiments which had been at Friedland crossed the Pyrenees. They were justly looked upon as superior to the troops already there. This circumstance caused General Mouton's soldiers to be styled the *division d'élite*.

On the 7th of July, news reached Burgos of the arrival of the army of Galicia upon the Esla. The troops of Castile were already at Medina de Rio Seco. Generals Blake and Cuesta gave out publicly that they meant to march straight to Valladolid.

Marshal Bessieres, determined to prevent them, set out from Burgos on the 9th with his reserve consisting of the regiment of fusileers, with the cavalry and the artillery of the Imperial Guard, arrived at Palencia on the following day. General Mouton's division arrived there on the 12th. The division was immediately organized for battle. General Canalle's division, marching as the head of the column, was composed of two regiments of cavalry, the 1st hussars, and the twenty-second of horse-chasse, and of the brigade of General Sabathier, four battalions strong, the seventeenth and eighteenth

\* Afterwards Count of Lobau.



visional. General Merle's division had two brigades of infantry commanded by General Darmagnac and Ducos, and composed, the first of one battalion of the forty-seventh, one battalion of the third Swiss, one battalion of the fourteenth provisional; the second of the thirteenth provisional regiment, four battalions. General Mouton's division had only the fourth light and the fifteenth of the line; for the three battalions of the municipal guard of Paris remained at Vittoria, in order to keep up the communications. The reserve was formed of the regiment of fusileers of the imperial guard, and of three fine squadrons, one of chasseurs, one of dragoons, and one of gendarmes *d'elite*. The army had with it thirty-two pieces of artillery, of which eight accompanied each of the first two divisions; the division *d'elite* had six, and the reserve ten. The soldiers carried bread for three days in their haversacks. A supply of biscuit for five days accompanied the troops in waggons.

On the 13th, before one in the morning, the army set out for Palencia. It marched during the night, on account of the excessive heat: it was desirous of commencing the action at day-break, from the certainty it had of success, and the wish to have the whole day before it in order to reap the fruits of victory. The army took position, the right at the Torre de Mormajas, and the left at Ampudia. The reconnoissances sent in the evening to the convent of Mortollance, brought back word that the



Spaniards were at Medina de Rio Seco, to the number of thirty-five thousand men with thirty pieces of cannon.

On the 14th at two in the morning, the French army marched in two columns in the direction of Medina de Rio Seco. At break of day, the cavalry of General Lasalle discovered two hundred Spanish cavalry at Palacios, who instantly retreated. Marshal Bessieres ordered General Lasalle to deploy the cavalry in front of Palacios, but to remain quiet: while the two columns were collected and thrown into masses in the rear of the cavalry, the Spanish position was carefully examined.

Palacios is at the distance of a league and a half from Rio Seco; it is a country of plains and cultivation. The Sequillo runs at a short distance from the road. In winter and in spring the heavy rains attack and undermine the upper plateaux, and surround them with ravines, which are difficult to cultivate. These plateaux are full of stones, which, in order to cultivate the fields, are removed, and then employed to make boundary walls of two or three feet high round each property. As the fields which surround the towns are better cultivated than the rest of the country, these inclosures are in such situations more numerous, and present greater obstacles to troops; notwithstanding, they are an insufficient check to infantry, as the soldiers can easily throw down the stones, and even the cavalry can leap over them.

The Spanish army was formed in two lines at the moment the French cavalry came up. The first line, consisting of from eight to ten thousand infantry, covered a plateau which it was difficult to approach in front, and was supported by a battery of fifteen pieces. The second line was placed at the distance of twelve or fifteen hundred fathoms from the first, and projected greatly beyond it on the left; it was more numerous, consisted of better troops, and had a formidable artillery in the centre. The cavalry was placed a little in the rear of the first line, and within a short distance from the road.

Marshal Bessieres, having reconnoitred the Spanish position, manœuvred so as to throw the majority of his forces into the enormous space which separated the two lines of the enemy, and overwhelm the first line before the second could come to its assistance. General Sabathier's brigade of infantry, formed in battalions in close column, commenced the action, and attacked the plateau in front, while General Merle's division ascended it by the escarpment on the side next the road. Two squadrons of cavalry, led by General Lasalle between the two lines, charged the Spanish cavalry. The three movements were simultaneous; the French artillery was superior to the Spanish artillery in number and in quality; a swarm of voltigeurs preceded the attacking columns. The French generals were only occupied in preventing the soldiers from running: in one instant the position was carried, the first line of the


enemy broken, the cannon taken, and the ground covered with more than eight hundred dead men, most of them killed by thrusts of the bayonet.

Meanwhile the second Spanish line assumed the offensive ; two strong columns, supported by the reserve artillery of the army, rallied the fugitives, and marched with the apparent intention of retaking the plateau ; they were very soon engaged with General Mouton's division. The sharpshooters of this division were charged by three hundred of the royal carabineers and body-guard, and driven into a ditch. The cavalry of the imperial guard rushed to their assistance, and beat back the Spanish cavalry upon their infantry. General Merle's division had continued to march in the direction of its first movement, had traversed the front of the first field of battle, and was now on the right flank of the Spanish columns of the second line. The enemy's infantry was gaining ground, the artillery of the guard was compromised, two cannon even were in the enemy's possession for a few seconds ; the decisive moment was now come, and the French commander did not allow it to escape. He ordered General Merle's division to make a change from front to right, and to charge with bayonets. The two infantries then came in contact ; Mouton on the left flank with a squadron of horse chasseurs, seasonably propelled against the head of the column, completed its confusion ; it was broken and took to flight ; the battle was then gained. From all parts the enemy

retreated in disorder; from all parts the French masses came up at a running pace. The Spaniards attempted to make a stand at Rio Seco, in order to cover their retreat. General Mouton, not deigning to return their fire, carried the town at the point of the bayonet, and put its defenders to the sword. The cavalry pursued the fugitives on the road to Benavente, and made terrible slaughter among them.

The Spanish army which fought at Medina de Rio Seco was thirty thousand strong; the French army consisted of from ten to twelve thousand infantry and fifteen hundred cavalry. The artillery was nearly equal on each side. The Spaniards lost fifteen pieces of cannon and five thousand men. The loss of the French amounted to one hundred and five men killed, and four hundred wounded.

The battle of Rio Seco was not dishonourable to the Spaniards: they were more numerous, and they were beaten; but they disputed the victory. It was a specimen of the old Spanish army, which showed what it might have done; it was a great deal for a new army trying its strength for the first time with troops inured to war. The disposition of the Spaniards was bad; they fought in the front of a defile. The enemy came upon them, completely formed, in front and on their flanks. There was no position which would have been necessary to counterbalance the inequality of moral force; they received the battle. Now it is necessary to receive a





battle in position or to offer it.\* The capital mistake was in placing the first line fifteen hundred fathoms in front of the second. The advance movement of the second line (and *there*, properly speaking, was the battle) was executed with precision and boldness.

On his side Marshal Bessieres engaged his troops well, and made skilful dispositions.

The only positive result of the battle of Rio Seco was to ensure the safety of King Joseph's journey to Madrid. Bessieres had achieved a victory, but he knew not how to profit by it; it was the first time he had ever been Commander-in-chief in a battle. He was surprised and intoxicated by his triumph, and determined not to risk the glory he had acquired! The army which was defeated at Rio Seco was composed of the corps of Castile, under Cuesta, and of the corps of Galicia, under Blake. The army of Castile, being recruited almost entirely from the country where the battle was fought, dispersed itself. Cuesta with his cavalry, and some remains of his infantry, fled to Leon. The army of Galicia, being composed of troops of the line and of recruits newly clothed, lost neither its form nor unity; it made an orderly retreat by Benavente and Astorga, and proceeded to take position at Manzanal, on the chain of mountains which separates the streams of the

\* Ought Blake to have offered battle? Destitute of cavalry, he committed himself in an open country against fifteen hundred horsemen, led by General Lasalle, one of the best Generals of cavalry that France ever had.

Douro from those of the Minho, and forms the front wall of Galicia.

After the defeat, the two Spanish generals were, as was to be expected, completely at variance with each other. Blake, although he was the junior officer, had secret orders from the Junta of Galicia not to place himself entirely under Cuesta's command; in consequence they had had several violent altercations. Military reason prescribed to the French general to leave Cuesta alone, but to pursue Blake with the utmost celerity, overtake and extinguish him.

The battle of Rio Seco was over by mid-day; the defence of the town scarcely lasted a few minutes. No obstacle stood in the way of the victors. The Sequillo was dried up in consequence of the great heats. The French soldiers, out of breath, panting, and bathed in perspiration, rushed towards the brook; but not finding a drop of water in it, they exclaimed, "The Spaniards have taken away the river with them." The victorious army had only marched three leagues; part of its cavalry was not even engaged, and the other part had only been so for a very short time. General Lasalle was in full pursuit of the fugitives; Marshal Bessieres compelled him to halt. He passed the 14th and 15th at Medina de Rio Seco, as if to allow the enemy time to rally; afterwards he took four days to go from Rio Seco to Benavente, a distance of only ten leagues.

Generals, officers, and soldiers were all grumbling

and complaining of this unseasonable inactivity. At Benavente they tried to persuade the General-in-chief to march towards Portugal ; it was reasonable to suppose that the appearance of French troops in the north of that kingdom would be sufficient to restore the communications with the army of General Junot, which had been blockaded for the last two months. The orders were actually written out for the movement, but after forty-eight hours hesitation, Marshal Bessieres changed his opinion. He determined to march to Leon to look after Cuesta, and to wait for reinforcements. When he arrived on the 21st of July at Valencia de Don Juan, he learned that Cuesta had left Leon with six hundred cavalry, four pieces of cannon, and fifteen hundred foot soldiers, a few Swiss, almost all officers or sub-officers; that he had proceeded to Mayorga, which had been fixed upon as the place of rendezvous to the fugitives. The French army marched on the 22d to Mayorga, and this getting wind was quite sufficient to prevent their assembling. General Cuesta had set out for Toro with his cavalry, his cannon, and his small column of infantry; from thence he went to Salamanca and Rodrigo; he then proceeded to Estremadura, to find some points of support for his feeble force, and more obsequious co-operators than Blake for himself.

Meanwhile, the victory of Rio Seco had spread terror to the entrance of Portugal. Zamora, which the Spaniards reckoned one of their strong holds, sent

its act of submission to the victor. The Portuguese towns of Braganza and Miranda de Douro believed for a time that the French in Castile were going to rejoin their comrades; and the news of it even reached Lisbon. The soldiers of Blake deserted in hundreds, although the army had received at Manzanal reinforcements both of men and artillery. The Bishop and the inhabitants at Leon, immediately after the departure of Cuesta, hastened to send deputies to meet the French. The Asturians were trembling behind their mountains; they had posted troops in the defiles of the road which leads to Oviedo; the town of Astorga was neither armed nor disposed to stand a siege.

At Mayorga, the French army received a reinforcement of ten thousand men. The General-of-brigade Gaulois brought back from Santander the three battalions which had remained useless in that place during the battle of Rio Seco, and which, through an excess of prudence, had been directed to rejoin the army by way of Burgos, when the direct road would have spared them several days march. The third battalion of the municipal guard of Paris, which had been left by General Mouton at Vittoria, now rejoined that General's division. The second regiment of light infantry arrived from France. The General-of-brigade Lefebvre brought from Madrid the eleventh provisional, the second regiment of fusiliers of the guard, the five corps of Polish light horse of Colonel Krasinski, and the twenty-sixth



regiment of horse chasseurs. The artillery was increased to forty-four pieces. The General-in-chief was relieved of the charge of keeping up the communications between Bayonne and Madrid. The army received a new organization. Generals Merle, Bonnet, and Mouton, commanded each a division of infantry; Lasalle had only the cavalry under him; the troops of the imperial guard continued to form the reserve. The Emperor had determined on this increase of the army, because he was anxious for the extermination of the army of Galicia.

Marshal Bessieres regarded the subjugation of Galicia as a very difficult matter. Having been educated in the cavalry service, he had an aversion to mountain warfare, which he did not conceal; he was uneasy about his supplies of provision. The Emperor had departed from Bayonne without leaving any instructions for him. At Madrid, Savary was supposed to direct and not to command; he transmitted orders, but gave none. In war, however, there are but two things: to command, or to obey. Blake was reinforced: it was asserted that the English had landed at Corunna; their fleets were seen upon the coasts. The army, on the 26th, moved to Leon, where it remained five days, under the pretence of repairing the artillery. On the 31st it marched to Puente de Orbijo. The cavalry reconnoissances found Astorga occupied; hostile patrols were also met with on the road to the Asturias.

Marshal Bessieres therefore recoiled before the operations in Galicia. An unexpected event relieved him abruptly from this state of anxiety; the news of the disaster at Baylen came upon him all at once.

At this dreadful intelligence matters were almost entirely changed before Sarragossa.

The first principle of the attack of fortresses is, never to employ men against them when you have the material means at command, and even to wait until these material means are completely exhausted before you employ them; without which you waste your strength in vain efforts, and when the great blow should be struck, the means are no longer adequate. The habitual violation of this principle is the natural consequence of the petulance and impatience which form the basis of the French character. This was particularly likely to be the case, when a great siege was carrying on under the eye of an impatient master, who was irritated by resistance, whose orders were pressing, whose opinion as a master of the art was so formidable, who was the master of reputations, and, as it were, the all-powerful dispenser of favours: and who was besides, accustomed (frequently with justice) that things were done badly or imperfectly whenever he was not present.

As soon as a portion of the siege artillery had arrived, a battery was formed in the southern conference. In the night of the 20th of June, the French began by throwing some mortar and earth

into the city. Six howitzers and two twelve-inch mortars were discharged every half-hour; their fire continued during the whole of the 1st of July and the following night. During that time a battery of ten long eight pounders was organized, which was destined to batter a breach in the castle of the Inquisition. This castle, which was built by the Moors and restored by the kings of Arragon, who made it their residence, is at the distance of one hundred and twenty fathoms from the surrounding wall; it is square, flanked with four bastion towers, lined ditch, and covered way. At one o'clock in the morning of the 2nd, the battery began firing; four hours afterwards there was a breach in the wall. At five in the morning the troops were discharged against the fortress, in six columns. Those who were to attack the castle found the breach too high; it would have required ten-feet ladders to reach it, and not one had been provided. The convent of Saint Joseph, which is on the right bank of the Huerba, was carried, and remained in the hands of the French. The other attacking columns were vigorously repulsed. The French had two hundred men killed and three hundred wounded.

The besieging ammunition was all expended, and it was necessary to wait for more. The besiegers found they must abandon all hopes of carrying by storm a place so well defended by the valour of its inhabitants; they were compelled to have recourse to the slow and regular methods of attack against an



open town, which it had been thought at first might be carried by sharpshooters.

The Colonel of engineers Lacoste was sent by the Emperor (whose aid-de-camp he was) to command the siege of Sarragossa ; he reconnoitred the place carefully, and determined that the attack should be made on the front of the convent of Santa Ingracia. The battery against the castle of the Inquisition was continued as a diversion and a false attack.

The Huerba passes in front of the convent of Santa Ingracia ; as it falls perpendicularly into the inclosure, it serves as a ditch for only a part of it. The convent is a brick building ; the walls are thick and solid. The besieged had batteries of heavy guns on the ground floor, and light pieces in the upper stories ; the church and the spire were bristled with falcons and rampart muskets ; the city gate, close by, was masqued by an entrenchment with five port-holes, filled with heavy cannon. The space as far as the Puerta del Carmen was *epauled* ; the angles and projections lined with artillery. The convent of the Capuchins, which was put into a good state, presented an angle to the front of attack. On the left, the Huerba, which is dammed, and in which there is no water but in heavy rains or from irrigation, served as a ditch to the enemy's line. The bridge over this river was broken ; its banks were lined by an entrenchment made of wood and rough stones.



The French united against the front of attack their whole supply of artillery; they established seven batteries, to batter, enfilade, and keep the rears in alarm. The principal breaching battery was armed with six sixteen-pounders and four eight-inch howitzers, and battered the wall of the convent at seventy fathoms. The most distant batteries were at two hundred fathoms distance from the inclosure.

While these labours were proceeding, a continual fire of sharpshooters occasioned the loss of many lives on both sides, without the least effect on the general issue; barracks were disputed, and reciprocal attempts made to prevent the progress of the works for attack or for defence. On the 23rd of July, the besiegers made a vigorous sortie against a French brigade, on the left bank of the Ebro, the object of which was to facilitate the entrance of some corps of troops, who were anxious to throw themselves into the city. Their efforts, however, were vain. On the 30th, the volunteers of Arragon were defeated in another attempt to enter.

The dispositions being completed, the guns placed in battery, and supplied with ammunition for three hundred discharges, the service of the artillery being secured, on the 4th of August, at day-break, the French began battering in breach; the whole of the batteries discharged at once; the walls were riddled with bullets, and the parts be-

And the front of attack inundated with bombs and shells. At nine in the morning, the breaches were considered practicable; there was no ditch. Two attacking columns put themselves in motion at the large step; the first carried the convent of Santa Gracia, the second the Puerta del Carmen; the defenders of the breaches were overthrown; the French entered the city, distributed themselves in the houses, leaped over the ruins, seized the cannon, and began firing on the Spaniards with their own guns.

But what is there that cannot be effected by the love of country and of independence? The inhabitants of Sarragossa and the garrison did what had never been seen before. When they arrived at the turning of the great street of the Corso, they rallied, and returned in a thick column upon the assailants, who had separated, were dispersed through the houses, and occupied in plundering. A terrible firing commenced from the windows and the roofs; every house was converted into a fortress which it was necessary to batter and carry by storm.

Dismayed by such an unlooked-for resistance, the soldiers took to flight; several generals were killed. The French were not yet masters of Sarragossa; they were obliged to be satisfied with preserving that they had taken. In the streets they covered themselves with articles of furniture, with bags of wool, and with sacks filled with earth. The two attacking columns, which had not been able to unite

completely, occupied, one the convent of San Francisco, the other the convent of San Diego. This terrible day cost the French one thousand five hundred men.

A part of the French army was thus lodged in the city. This immense advantage to the assailant was partly counterbalanced by their being obliged to withdraw Piré's brigade from the left bank of the Ebro, and place it at Monte Torrero, in order to act as their reserve; for having concentrated a part of their force upon one point, they had not left a sufficient number on the right bank to repel a sortie. The besieged were thus enabled to bring into the place whatever they pleased. The French however were now masters of the defensive points: whatever energy the besieged might display in constructing new ones, they could not offer the same degree of resistance.

Sarragossa was therefore in danger of falling, when it was saved by the rebound of the disaster at Baylen. On the evening of the 5th of August, the besiegers received orders from King Joseph to hold themselves in readiness to raise the siege, or to evacuate the city, if they had obtained possession of it. From that moment they confined their efforts to entrenching themselves in the streets, or making loop-holes in the houses of which they were masters; they consumed carelessly the ammunitions they knew they could not now carry with them; they collected all the mules and carts

they could procure. They remained in Sarragossa, sometimes attacking a house, sometimes a convent, without risking lives, or seeking to make any progress. The French soldiers, unaccustomed to this defensive warfare, were much inferior in it to the Spaniards.

The intelligence of the approaching arrival of troops from Valencia, under the orders of Brigadier Don Felix de San-Marco, which were marching against Borja, after having rallied the regiment of Versaye, and the retreat of King Joseph to the Ebro, determined the raising of the siege. On the 12th a brigade set out with cannon, to take possession of the bridge of Tudela; mines were charged, and they began destroying the artillery they could not carry off. How could they carry off in four days what had taken a month's time to bring there?

In the night of the 14th they sprang the mines, burnt the artillery equipage, set fire to the magazines of Monte Torrero and the Sluice, spiked and threw into the Ebro and the canal the besieging artillery. The French army withdrew, taking in its train its equipage of field artillery. The Spaniards neither thought of following it, or disturbing it in its retreat. On the 15th it reached Alagon, on the 16th Mallen; on the 17th Tudela, two thousand men were detached to garrison Pampeluna.

Sarragossa had cost the besiegers two thousand five hundred men in killed and wounded, and the Spaniards two thousand.



The defence of Sarragossa set a great example to Spain ; it will re-echo through future ages. It is true that the inhabitants were only attacked by a handful of soldiers, and that a regular siege was not formed ; but it is also true, that they were defenceless, and that it required all their courage to balance the superiority of disciplined troops : in the field that is next to impossible ; *there*, numbers will always yield to discipline. In the city the strength of the Spaniards began, and it went on increasing in exact proportion to the progress made by the besiegers. The breaches of Sarragossa taught them to support attacks. In Spain the sieges have always been heroic.

Let it not be said that it would have been better to preserve themselves, because at a subsequent period they were forced to yield. Leonidas also died at Thermopylæ, and his death was certain before he went into battle. The glory of Sarragossa is of a similar kind ; there also burst forth that religious fervour, which embraces the present and the future, the cradle and the tomb, and which becomes still more holy when it is exerted against foreigners and the oppressors of our country. There also was exhibited that sublime indifference to life and death, which troubles itself with nothing but obedience to a noble impulse. . . . There also moral nature triumphed over physical nature.

## **BOOK VI.**

### **THE INVASION OF SPAIN.**

The Emperor Napoleon convokes at Bayonne an extraordinary Junta of the leading men of Spain—Projects of the Emperor relative to the Crown of Spain—Character and disposition of Joseph Bonaparte—Arrival of Joseph at Bayonne—New Constitution of the Spanish Monarchy—Appointments made by Joseph—He enters Spain—He is proclaimed King at Madrid—The Grand-duke of Berg is succeeded as Commander-in-chief, by General Savary, Duke of Rovigo—Vedel's division marches into Andalusia—Expedition of Cuenca—Frere's division, which is sent to San Clemente, communicates with the Corps of Marshal Moncey—Concentration of the French troops on Madrid, previously to the battle of Rio Seco—The Emperor quits Bayonne—Reflections on the position of Andujar, occupied by General Dupont—Combat of Jaën—Gobert's division marches into Andalusia—Formation and progress of the Spanish army of Andalusia—Engagements on the Guadalquivir—Movement of Vedel's division from Andujar on Baylen—Vedel at Carolina, and Dufour at Santa Elena—Dupont resolves to quit the position of Andujar—The Spanish divisions of Reding and Coupigni cross the Guadalquivir—Battle of Baylen—Separate operations of Vedel and Dufour's divisions during the battle of Baylen—Armistice and negotiations between the French and Spaniards—General Marescot takes a part in the conferences—Situation of General Vedel during the negotiation—Deplorable state to which the troops of General Dupont are reduced—Vedel retreats towards the Sierra Morena—Convention of Andujar—Fate of the troops who laid down their arms by that Convention.

## BOOK VI.

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### THE INVASION OF SPAIN.

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WHEN Napoleon quitted his capital, at the beginning of the month of April, it was his intention to go to Madrid. Ferdinand, however, spared him one half the distance, and the Emperor thought that it was useless to proceed any farther. It was from Bayonne that he spoke to the Spanish nation. It was to Bayonne that the extraordinary Assembly or Junta was summoned, which was to reform the government and ensure the happiness of the monarchy. It was of little consequence to Napoleon, that scrupulous patriots might blame this forgetfulness of decorum, and stigmatise beforehand, as null and void, all the acts of an assembly which was held out of the limits of the national territory. After having, as he had, made a mock of public morality in the conferences with the royal family, an additional irregularity was not likely to stop him.

The Emperor ordered that the Assembly of leading men, or extraordinary Junta, should consist of



a hundred and fifty members, chosen among the clergy, the nobility, and the third estate, *Estado general*. The supreme Junta of Government regulated all the details of organization, in such a manner as to approximate as closely as possible to the form of the ancient Cortes. The cities possessing a vote for the Cortes, the privileged Provinces, the five supreme Councils of the monarchy, the three Universities of Salamanca, Valladolid, and Alcala, and the Chambers and Companies of Commerce, were ordered to elect their deputies, with the right of extending their choice far beyond what was fixed by the ancient laws of the kingdom. From among the Spanish Americans who happened, at the moment, to be in the mother country, six persons were chosen to represent America. Two archbishops, six bishops, six heads of monastic orders, were named as representatives of the clergy, together with sixteen canons, nominated by the Metropolitan chapters, and twenty rectors, selected by Diocesan bishops. Ten grandees of Spain, and ten titled men, *titulos de Castilla*, were designated, by name, for the higher order of nobility, two general officers for the navy, and six general or superior officers for the army. Care was taken to include in this list the nobles and other considerable personages who were already at Bayonne. In the projected assembly were to be found friends of Godoy, and counsellors of Ferdinand, partisans of revolution and change, and persons conspicuous for their attachment to the old institutions.

The choice fell on those who, in every pursuit and profession, had gained the most respect for their services, their talents or their virtues.

The Junta of Government, in the name, and by order of the Grand-duke of Berg, Lieutenant-general of the kingdom, enjoined the deputies to be at Bayonne by the 15th of June, which was the day fixed for the opening of the Assembly. It was recommended to them to obtain, previously to their departure, as much information as possible relative to the public education, agriculture, commerce, legislation, and the individual interests of their cities, provinces, or corporations. Their mission was to reform old abuses, and to establish the bases of a new constitution. Their power did not extend to the choice of a king; on that point the will of the Emperor was decided. The decree, by which the Assembly of Bayonne was convoked, was accompanied by a proclamation, in which the monarch who inherited the rights of the house of Bourbon, announced to the Spaniards, that he intended to *place their glorious crown on the head of another self.*

As the origin of the Napoleon dynasty was not lost in the night of by-gone ages, it did not yet believe that it held its authority from God alone. Napoleon had taken from the altar the Imperial crown, which he had succeeded in procuring to be decreed to him by the suffrages of the French people. Analogy, therefore, required that an appearance of the national will should call to the throne of Spain

the Prince of his blood, whom he destined for it. Hopes were entertained that the public opinion might be won over, by representing to it how much the nation would gain in replacing its fugitive Kings by a Prince of the Imperial family. It would preserve the integrity of its territory, and the exclusive exercise of the Catholic religion. Its privileges (*fueros*\*) would be maintained and augmented. The alliance with France being drawn closer and becoming indissoluble, there would no longer be any occasion for internal disturbances in Spain. Such was the language of the gazettes and of the official pamphlets, which were drawn up by the French agents at Madrid.

On the 13th of May, the Grand-duke of Berg informed the Junta of Government, that Napoleon, having resolved to cede to one of his brothers his right to the crown of Spain, it would be agreeable to his Imperial Majesty to have, on the choice of

\* The word *fueros* generally means the privileges and exceptions granted to an individual, or to a corporation. In its primary sense it signifies the conditions on which the first inhabitants of a country consented to establish themselves there. The towns of the Peninsula, to which the Kings or nobles granted *fueros*, passed from under a military government to a government under magistrates, elected by the inhabitants, and were capable of acquiring and possessing lands and estates. Even at this period, whatever municipal functions are retained by the Commons, are called *oficios de república*, in contradistinction to such offices as are derived immediately from the royal authority, *empleos del rey*.



the new sovereign, the opinion of the Junta of Government, of the Royal and Supreme Council, commonly denominated the Council of Castile, and of the municipal authorities of the City of Madrid. Such an intimation was equivalent to a formal order. The Junta could but obey. The Council of Castile, an old tribunal, which had been venerated for centuries, and had handed down its self-respect from generation to generation, was thoroughly impressed with its duties, but from these aged magistrates a vigorous resolution was not to be expected. Being, as they were, under the control of the armed foreigner, it was something for them to endeavour to separate the law from the fact. They wished to elude a compliance with the invitation that was given to them, by pleading that the competence of the Council was confined to deciding upon points of positive law. They were, however, driven out of this refuge; and they had then recourse to a Jesuitical subterfuge, better calculated to secure their own safety, whatever might happen in future, than to serve as a rule for the duty of the people. They declared that, taking for granted the validity of the abdication of the Princes of the blood royal, of which validity they could not be judges, as they knew nothing of the treaties of the 5th and 10th of May; and, arguing from what had been resolved upon by the Emperor, then the King of Naples seemed to be the most proper person to be raised to that high dignity. The Council next, but with no good will, appointed



sovereign could not but please all those whom rank or office brought near his person. Joseph was persuaded that he was adored by his people ; on this point, whatever may be their origin, all Kings are incorrigibly credulous. He suffered a severe heart-ache, when, in order to begin a new kind of existence, it became necessary for him to tear himself from his illusions, from his tranquillity, from the works which he had begun. The order to quit the throne of Naples, for the purpose of seating himself on the throne of Spain, was given to him without his having been consulted. He quitted his capital, almost incognito, and without making known that he was to return no more. The motives which had formerly induced him to refuse Italy, and to hesitate in accepting the crown of Naples, now recurred to his mind, strengthened by the reflections which his experience of government suggested to him. In spite of his aversion to tumult, he found himself again thrown back into the violent and warlike systems of his brother. How far would this turbulent futurity agree with the well-being of the nation over which he was to rule? The Neapolitans, accustomed as they were to obey viceroys, were not shocked to see their monarch receive instructions, and even positive orders, from Paris. But would a crowned slave be tolerated by Spanish pride?... This feeling grew stronger in the mind of the Prince as he approached the Pyrenees. He learned the events of the 2nd of May. Some little was told him, re-

specting the insurrection of Sarragossa, and the risings which daily took place in his future kingdom. All this increased his regret. He knew not what were the views of the Emperor as to Naples, of which kingdom he still considered himself as the sovereign, as he had not abdicated the throne. He firmly resolved that he would return there, unless the Emperor would consent to such conditions as would secure his honour, and the happiness of the people.

Joseph arrived at Bayonne on the 7th of June, a few hours after the promulgation of the decree which made him King of Spain and the Indies. The Emperor went to meet him beyond the city gates, and took him into his carriage. There he clearly and forcibly explained the political interests by which Joseph was called to the throne of Spain. He spoke to him of family interests, as well as of those which belonged to the country. "I may die," said he; "Murat, who has a party in the army, Eugene, who, though young, has won the esteem of the nation, will contend for my succession before you can arrive from the farther end of Italy to enter on it. The crown of France must never go out of our family. Your place is in Spain. There, in case of any misfortune, you will succeed me naturally, and without obstacles. Besides, these arrangements will put an end to our domestic quarrels. I give Naples to Lucien." This last circumstance touched the heart of Joseph. He felt as much tenderness for his brother Lucien, as he did repug-

nance for his brother-in-law Murat. The carriage meanwhile, entered the court-yard of the castle of Marrac. The Empress Josephine, attended by her maids of honour, descended as far as the palace staircase to meet the King; he entered the state rooms. The Spanish grandees were waiting for him there. They kissed his hand, harangued him, and greeted him as their sovereign, before he had time even to consent to be so.

The whole of the deputies to the extraordinary Junta were not yet arrived at Bayonne. Some of them, such as Azanza, Urquijo, and Mazaredo, the Emperor had summoned there beforehand, that he might hear their remarks on the constitution which he purposed to give to Spain. He directed Azanza to write circular letters to the American colonies, notifying to them the change of dynasty. Azanza recommended that Lieutenant-general Gregorio de la Cuesta should be appointed viceroy of Mexico, as being the man best calculated, in consequence of the firmness of his character, to bind the colonies to the mother country, in a crisis which was easily to be foreseen. The Emperor was desirous also, that the leading men of the Assembly should make use of all their influence with the Spanish nation, to quiet the spirit of rebellion which was beginning to manifest itself. This it was that gave rise to the fruitless measure of sending a deputation to the inhabitants of Saragossa, at the head of which was the Prince of Castel Franco, and to the equally

fruitless proclamation, by which the deputies of the extraordinary Junta invited their compatriots to repress the efforts of the seditious, who sought to plunge their country into an abyss.

On the 15th of June, which was the day fixed for the opening of the extraordinary Junta, there were only eighty-six Deputies at Bayonne; nor was any addition subsequently made to this number. Some, like the virtuous Bishop of Orense, considered this convocation as illegal, both in its form and in its object, and therefore refused to join it. Others stopped by the way, or were kept at home by the insurrection. Of this number were the deputies of Galicia, the magistrate Antonio de Valdès, who, on the contrary, was president of the Insurreccional Junta of Leon, the Archbishop of Laodicea, who presided over that of Castile, and many more.

The Assembly, however, began its sittings on the appointed day. Don Miguel Josef de Azanza was the president, and Don Mariano Luis de Urquijo the secretary. It would, undoubtedly, be an abuse of speech to compare such a meeting as this with those august assemblies of a nation, the members of which, convoked to vote constitutionally, have only two guides to follow, their conscience and the country. But it is a fact, that the members of the extraordinary Junta of Bayonne were left entirely at liberty to deliver their opinions. The project of a constitution sent by the Emperor was read to them.



Two commissions were nominated to decide on such modifications as might appear to be necessary. The Duke of Infantado, supported by the Duke of Ossuna and the Marquis of Santa Cruz, defended the splendour of the higher class of nobility, which was endangered by restrictions proposed with respect to entails. Father Miguel de Acevedo demanded that the monastic orders should be preserved. Even the Inquisition found an advocate, in the person of Don Raymundo Etenhard y Salinas. In the course of eleven sittings the Constitution was finished. The King and the deputies swore on the gospels, the one, to govern the State according to the Constitution, the other, to be faithful to the King.

When eighty-six citizens, chosen from among the leading men of a nation, and under the influence of religious feelings, took a solemn oath on the gospel, there was, doubtless, no mental reservation. The majority of them, it is true, had not withdrawn their affection and respect from the race of their ancient kings. The perfidious policy which had wrested the sceptre from Ferdinand, they regarded with horror; but it was without them, and in spite of them, that the dynasty had been changed. They were not required to sanction rights which were supposed to be sufficiently coloured by treaties, sufficiently guaranteed by power. Their task was only to turn to the advantage of the country those changes which had been brought about by force. The new dynasty promised them peace, and more respectful treatment

on the part of France. The vassalage, disguised under the name of a perpetual offensive and defensive alliance by sea and land, was but a continuance of the policy of the age which was just gone by, and, under the dynasty of the Emperor's eldest brother, more consideration might be hoped for than had been obtained under the reign of the Bourbons. Defective as the Constitution of Bayonne was, especially in the guarantees which it afforded to civil liberty, it was a vast stride in the career of improvement. It established the equality of individuals in the eye of the law, the publicity of proceedings in criminal cases, and the distinction of the social powers. The Cortes were to meet every three years; the number of the members was small, and their privileges were left undefined; but it is well known how rapid is the growth of assemblies which, whether directly or indirectly, emanate from the people, and claim the honour of representing them. The Emperor had avoided touching on several delicate questions, such as the ecclesiastical franchises, the monastic orders, and the immunities of the Basque provinces. The discontented were not deprived of all hope. The last article of the Constitution stated, that it was to be revised in Cortes, after a trial of twelve years should have detected its principal imperfections.

The hopes conceived by the Spaniards at Bayonne arose, in a great measure, from the moderate disposition and the good sense which, at the first inter-



view with him, were observed in Joseph. These personal qualities of the Prince are of little importance in countries where the general acts of the possessor of power are compulsively the expression of the will of all; they are of the greatest consequence where the Prince can act as he pleases. It was not doubted that the presence of the new king would reconcile all interests, and restore the public peace, without its being necessary to resort to arms. Nor was it merely in studied speeches that these hopes were displayed; they were energetically expressed in the confidential effusions of friendship, even by those who had shown themselves the most devoted servants of Ferdinand: their correspondence proves it.

As if, too, no suffrage was to be wanting to Joseph, Ferdinand voluntarily broke the silence of his retreat at Valençay, to express to him, in his own name, and in the names of his brother and uncle—the satisfaction which he felt, to see at the head of the Spanish nation, a monarch so well fitted to render it happy by his virtues. At the same time, the army of the Marquis de la Romana, encamped in one of the islands of the Baltic, transmitted through the medium of its leader, the homage of its entire submission and inviolable attachment to the brother of the great Napoleon.

Accepted by the higher classes of the nation, complimented by his rival, certain of being acknowledged by all the continental powers, as soon as his accession to the throne should be notified to them,

Joseph Bonaparte united all the conditions which render Kings legitimate, with the exception of that single one, without which all the others are less than nothing. In him, the Spanish people repelled the foreigner's gift, the produce of perfidy, the living image of an irreparable insult. What availed it to unroll before their eyes the catalogue of benefits which were presaged by the new reign? Vain would have been the endeavour to prove to a people, that it might be a gainer from its being invaded by a more civilized people. It is not possible to do good to nations in their own despite.

Louis the XIVth advised the Duke of Anjou to keep the French within bounds. So Joseph, in assuming the red cockade, became a Spaniard. He retained in his household but a small number of Frenchmen, who had followed his fortunes in the Kingdom of Naples. At first there was only one, General Saligny, Duke of San Germano, who filled an eminent post, and was married to the Queen's sister. The Dukes of Infantado, of Parque, of Híjar, the Prince of Castel Franco, the Marquis of Ariza, the Count of Fernan Nuñez, and other great names of the monarchy, were invested with the dignities of the new court. Some had asked for nothing; all accepted gratefully what was offered to them. Joseph was assiduous in heaping the greatest marks of esteem and favour upon those who had been most roughly treated by his brother. It was on this account, that Don Pedro Cevallos, one of the



principal counsellors of Ferdinand, retained the department of foreign affairs. In the ministry with him was seen Don Josef Mazaredo, the most eminent naval officer in Spain; Don Gonzalo O'Farri, the pupil of the O'Reillys, the Ventura Caros, and the Ricardos, whom the Spanish army looked up to as the man to replace those Generals if Spain should ever engage in a war with means worthy of its power. Count de Cabarrus, the founder of credit in Spain, and whose vast talents and eagle glance were acknowledged even by his formidable adversary, Mirabeau; Don Miguel Josef de Azanza, honoured for forty years of public virtues, and of services rendered to the State in various kinds of employment; and Don Mariano Luis de Urquijo, an avowed and zealous partisan of those democratic principles which, when united with warm feelings and an enlightened understanding, are almost always indicative of a noble mind. These men stood the highest in the opinion of their fellow-citizens. Almost all of them had been sufferers through Godoy. There was also in Spain a still more illustrious victim of that ignoble despotism: it was the distinguished author of the Agrarian law, the Spaniard whose name was best known to Europe. The King appointed Don Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos his minister of favours and justice, without having seen him, and without knowing whether he would accept the office.

It would perhaps have been proper, if Joseph had waited at Bayonne till he learned the effect of the

proclamations which he addressed, in rapid succession, to the Spanish nation. The Emperor, however, insisted on his proceeding to Madrid, believing also that his presence would suffice to dissolve the assemblies of rebels. Joseph entered Spain, surrounded by the Deputies of the extraordinary Junta, who served him as an escort; he travelled slowly; and there was no scarcity of official congratulations. As soon as he passed the Bidassoa, there was nothing, in every town, but taking of oaths, by those whom the French commandants forced to make a show of submission, and delivery of studied harangues, expressing enough to satisfy the person to whom they were addressed, yet not enough to commit the orators themselves. Every where the people were gloomy and silent. To the aversion which they felt against the new King, the bad state of affairs in the North of Spain added the hope of seeing him soon return to France more quickly than he had come from it. It was the moment when Blake and Cuesta united were marching rapidly in Leon, to give battle to the army of Marshal Bessieres, which was far inferior to theirs in strength.

In this critical situation of affairs, it seemed doubtful whether Joseph would accomplish, without fighting, the journey into which he had been prematurely hurried. At Burgos that Prince received the news of the victory of Rio Seco; the way was then opened to him. He made his solemn entrance into the capital on the 20th of July; the magistrates went

to meet the monarch in their robes ; the houses by which he passed were hung with rich tapestry ; and the ears were deafened by the monotonous ringing of bells, which was now and then interrupted by the obstreperous roar of cannon. But hearts were locked up, and tongues were mute ; what a difference between this sullen and voiceless reception, and the transports of joy which burst forth in the same city on the entrance of Ferdinand ! Now, a multitude of independent citizens hid themselves in their houses, that they might not even see the intruder. Curiosity drew to the windows and into the streets but very few of the inhabitants. Like the Austrian Archduke whom foreign armies conducted to Madrid a century before, Joseph might have asked " Am I in a capital or in a desert ? "

Immediately after the King's entrance into Madrid, alms were profusely distributed among the indigent class ; the arena for the bull-fights, which, by a decree of Charles IV. had been closed for the last three years, was re-opened, and the Spaniards enjoyed with delight a spectacle of which they are extravagantly fond. The King received the homage, more or less willingly given, of those who, by birth or office had the right of paying their court to him. The Council of Castile alone, after having temporised, and plied to windward, now refused to take the oath of fidelity which it had itself implicitly prescribed to the nation, by promulgating in the form of laws acts posterior to the change of dynasty, and it thus



marked out the line of conduct to be pursued by the numerous and honoured body of gownsmen.

On the 26th, Joseph Napoleon was proclaimed King of Castile and Arragon, by raising the banners, according to the ancient customs of the monarchy. On this occasion money was thrown among the people. It was usual for the money thus distributed to bear the impress of the new Sovereign. The multitude were surprized to find that it bore the image of a Bourbon King.

The new reign, it appeared, was not to be signalized by any permanent establishment. Borne to Madrid by the tide of a victory, it was quite natural that Joseph should be carried away from it by the reflux of a defeat. Having no root in the institutions of the country, or in the affections of the people, his royal existence was entirely dependent on the ever-varying chances of war. We have described how the war was managed in the North of Spain; let us now see to what mutations it was subject in the South.

Every courier brought to Madrid the news of a fresh rising. The Spanish soldiers composing the garrison of that capital, quitted their colours to join the insurgents, and had it not been for the disarming of the inhabitants, the preparations for defence at the Retiro, and the presence of twenty thousand French, the citizens of Madrid, who had been the first to give the signal of indignation, would not have failed to follow the example which was set to



them by the Provinces. The popular opposition was fostered by the struggle between the Junta Government, the compelled organ of the Lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and the Council of Castile, the conservator of the laws of the monarchy; and in the progress of the military operations no decisive event occurred to cut the knot of the difficulty. In consequence of one circumstance, they were languidly carried on. After the departure of the expedition against Valencia, the Grand-duke was attacked by a rheumatic colic, which, during the summer of 1808, made great havoc in the hospitals of the French army, and to which the military physicians gave the name of the Madrid colic. This painful disease weakened his mind to such a degree as to render him incapable of commanding. The effect of this was felt in affairs. The Spanish priests would have rejoiced if the hand of God had been laid on him whom they called the butcher of the 2nd of May. Murat did not die, but he was obliged to be removed to France to be cured. General Savary, Duke of Rovigo, arrived at Madrid on the 15th of June, to direct the operations till King Joseph should arrive. His name was not unknown in the career of arms. He served his apprenticeship in the old army of the Rhine, the chiefs of which may be considered as the founders of a school. After having been first aide-de-camp of Desaix in Egypt and in Italy, he was adopted by Bonaparte at Marengo, as a forsaken pupil. In the campaign of 1807, the Emperor's

favour having raised him at one step to the command-in-chief, he succeeded in bending his refractory subordinates to obedience, and in defeating the Russians at Ostrolenka. This victory, however, was not sufficient to stamp Savary's reputation as general of an army; and, as the Emperor habitually employed him in a totally different kind of service, his enemies, and those who did not know him, took advantage of the discredit which that service might throw on his character, to rail at a choice which was equally disapproved of among the principal officers of the army. As to the Spaniards, they knew nothing of him beyond what they had seen, when, two months before, he had discharged the mission to Madrid.

Savary, however, no sooner entered on his command than he viewed his position with that penetrating glance, which, piercing beyond the surface of things, draws from facts obvious to all, consequences which no one had foreseen. "The question here," wrote he to the Emperor, "no longer has reference merely to keeping down malcontents and punishing rebels. If the arrival of the King do not pacify the country, we shall have to maintain a regular war against the troops, and a banditti war against the population. The method of patrolling with divisions in all the provinces, before having brought to a conclusion the troubles of Arragon and Catalonia, is only calculated to occasion partial checks, which will give consistence to the insurrection. It is necessary that your Majesty

should take up this matter seriously, and prepare additional means for us. We lose in the hospitals alone four hundred men per month. Our army is not, in any one point, to be compared with the army of Germany. Every thing has been calculated according to the turn which it was supposed events would take, and not according to the situation in which we are now placed. The consequence of this is, that some battalions have not four officers, and that the whole of the cavalry is become one general infirmary. The throng of presumptuous young men, all eager for promotion, only adds to our difficulties. In truth, a man must have the management of such an important affair as this is, before he can make a just distinction between young fellows, befringed and bedecked with orders, and a good officer, an old serjeant or adjutant, who has passed through the Revolution with nothing to recommend him but his talent and his duty."

Turning his attention most seriously to that which occurred nearest to France, the Emperor, as we have elsewhere stated, had directed moveable columns to be sent from Madrid to take in the rear the insurrection of the North of Spain. He had even directed his army of the South to furnish a detachment to reduce Saragossa; but the easy success of Cabezon occasioned this movement to be countermanded; and Napoleon indulged the hope that Arragon might be compelled to submit by the

troops and resources which General Verdier united in that province. Relieved from anxiety in that quarter, the Duke of Rovigo hastened to re-open the communication with the corps which had invaded Andalusia. General Vedel, the commander of the second division of the corps of the Gironde, was directed to conduct to General Dupont the reinforcements intended for the divisions of Barbès and Fresia, and, after having communicated with him, to guard the passes of the Sierra Morena, and to preserve La Mancha in a peaceable state. Frère's division, the third of this army, which had returned from Segovia, whither it had been sent to restore order, was directed to take post at Madrilejos. During this time, and while waiting for the result of the expedition to Valencia, Brigadier-general Augustus de Caulaincourt, was sent to Tarancon, beyond the Tagus, to cover Madrid on that side, with the fifth provisional infantry regiment of Gobert's division, and two regiments of cavalry.

Vedel set out from Toledo, on the 19th of June, with his division, consisting of between five and six thousand effective men, twelve pieces of cannon, and seven hundred horse, under Brigadier-general Boussard, and he took with him a supply of biscuit. In the course of the march, he was joined by the detachments of Generals Roize and Liger-Belair. The general distributed profusely the proclamations of the new Government. Encouraging as they were, however, they did not inspire confidence enough to



induce the inhabitants to remain in their houses. The greatest part of them fled to take refuge from the French troops. The heat, and the immoderate use of the excellent wine of La Mancha, made some of the soldiers straggle behind, and they were assassinated.

Seven thousand good troops could meet with no serious obstacles in the open plains of La Mancha. The enemy waited for them in the Sierra Morena. There, above the principal defile, the Puerto del Rey, is a narrow pass, in which the summits of the rocks almost meet, and seem to form a sort of arch over the traveller's head. It is called *Despeña Perros*.\* The Spanish Lieutenant-colonel Valdecanos, who, since the reign of Charles IV., at the head of a detachment of regular troops had superintended the police of these mountains, now, for their defence, united to his detachment the smugglers and vagabonds whom he formerly hunted down, and the peasants who had left their homes. Smugglers and peasants arose at the call of the country, and knew no enemy but the French. They

\* The name *Despeña Perros* signifies literally *throw the dogs from the top to the bottom of the rock*. There is in the Spanish an energy and brevity of expression which cannot be rendered into another language without a circumlocution. Before the making of this road, which was undertaken in 1779, by the French Charles Lemaire, under the administration of Florida Blanca, there was scarcely room enough in the path for the mules to set their feet.

planted a battery of six pieces of cannon to defend the pass. The parapet wall, which runs along the precipice, was thrown down into the road, which was also blocked up with trunks of trees and masses of rock.

At nine in the morning, on the 26th, the French troops arrived in front of the Despeña Perros. The defile was instantly forced, and the cannon were taken. The French had seventeen killed and wounded. On the following day, near La Carolina, Vedel fell in with a column of twelve hundred men, which General Dupont had detached to clear the Sierra Morena; it was commanded by the naval Captain Baste, the same officer who headed the troops sent against Jaën. Thus, the junction was effected, after the communication had been cut off for a month. Dupont received orders to suspend offensive operations, without, however, re-passing the Sierra Morena, in order that he might be able to resume them as soon as Sarragossa and Valencia should have opened their gates. He was led to expect, that the submission of Sarragossa would afford means of sending reinforcements into Andalusia, and that the capture of Valencia would allow the corps of Marshal Moncey to be directed on Granada, for the purpose of making a favourable diversion in that quarter.

This promise was dependant on events, the issue of which it was impossible to foresee. Since Marshal Moncey had marched for Valencia, nothing had been heard of his army. He had taken with him but

a scanty supply of ammunition, and perhaps it was by this time exhausted. The bad news which was received from Catalonia, gave rise to fears that Chabran's division had not been able to enter the kingdom of Valencia. It was known that the province of Cuenca had hardly waited for the Marshal's departure, before it broke out into insurrection. A detachment of two hundred Frenchmen, which followed him, was made prisoners. The intendant and the corregidor, who strove to oppose the imprudent impetuosity of the multitude, were insulted and ill-treated. The peasants had poured down from the mountains, and were said to form a considerable assemblage.

The brigade stationed at Tarancon was ordered to march against them; it appeared before Cuenca on the 3d of July, at four in the afternoon. Some peasants without leaders, trusting too much to the obstacles opposed by the steep banks of the Xucar, and the assistance which they expected to derive from two wretched pieces of cannon, had the boldness to wait the enemy's approach. The French cavalry rushed upon them, took their cannon, put many of them to the sword, and the remainder threw down their muskets and fled. The city, abandoned by its inhabitants, and which there was nobody to defend, received some howitzer shells and bullets, and was afterwards pillaged.

Other troops were despatched in search of Marshal Moncey. This service was performed by

Frère's division. The Emperor had ordered that it should be posted at San Clemente, as he judged, from the inspection of the map, that, in that intermediate position, it would be equally at hand to assist the expedition against Valencia and the corps in Andalusia.

To proceed to Valencia, Frère took the same road which the Marshal had followed. He learned at Requena, on the 5th of July, the failure of the attack on Valencia, and that the insurgents were waiting for him in the position of Cabrillas. What had he to do there? He could not hope with three thousand troops to carry a city, by which six thousand had just been foiled. Frère retraced his steps. At Yniesta he received a letter from Marshal Moncey, who had also repassed the mountains. After having given his men two days rest at Albacète, the Marshal deemed it prudent to abandon this country, which was open on all sides, and to concentrate his troops at San Clemente, in order to procure intelligence, send off the wounded and the lame to Madrid, make up again his deficient artillery and ammunition, and combine a new attack upon Valencia, with more troops and greater resources.

But, at this moment, there was nothing to be done by returning to Valencia; as the first attempt had been unsuccessful, twenty thousand additional soldiers could be of no use. It was no longer an affair of men, but of artillery. The Duke of Rovigo recalled both Frère and Caulaincourt to Ma-



drid, and ordered Marshal Moncey to remain at San Clemente.

In a military monarchy it was a scandalous monstrosity to see the senior marshal of the empire commanded by a general of division. When Moncey was sent to conquer Valencia, at the head of a corps which, in point of numbers, was as disproportioned to the rank of a marshal as it was to the object that it had to accomplish, his devotedness to the Emperor would not allow him to hazard a single remark. But he would have been wanting to his dignity had he recognized an authority which was illegal in every point of view. He had thought that the position of San Clemente would be a good one for his troops to occupy, in conjunction with those of General Frère and General Caulaincourt. But his force being reduced to Musnier's division, consisting of six thousand men, who were fatigued and dejected, he resolved to lead back his troops to the Tagus, by the route of Quintana de la Orden and Ocaña.

It so chanced, in consequence of a combination of circumstances, that this retrograde movement, which had not been prescribed, was perfectly in accordance with the general system of operations. In fact, the army of Galicia had descended from the mountains, and joined the army of Cuesta, and its strength was exaggerated by rumour. Forgetting that he himself had ordered the expeditions against Valencia and Andalusia, that he had been angered by the failure of

the former, that he had forbidden Dupont, although  
 stopped in his march, from repassing the Sierra Mo-  
 rra, and that he had directed the movement of  
 Edel's and Frère's divisions, Napoleon was incensed  
 to see that the hundred thousand soldiers whom he  
 had in Spain presented no where an imposing mass,  
 because they were scattered about in all directions.  
 All his mental powers, all the faculties of his mind,  
 were bent towards the strategic point, on which it ap-  
 peared to him that the fate of Spain was about to be  
 decided. In orders which he dictated for the guidance  
 of General Savary, he said, "A blow given to Mar-  
 shal Bessières will bring on tetanus. What matter  
 Valencia and Andalusia now? The only way to re-  
 inforce Dupont is to send troops to Bessières. There  
 is not an inhabitant of Madrid, not a peasant of the  
 valleys, who does not feel that all Spain is in the  
 hands of Marshal Bessières. What a misfortune it  
 is that, in this important affair, twenty chances of  
 success should have been voluntarily thrown away!"

With a view to prevent matters from becoming  
 worse, a column of between two and three thousand  
 men, of which the imperial guard formed a part,  
 was sent from Madrid to Valladolid, under Briga-  
 dier-general Lefebvre. Other troops were despatched  
 to meet King Joseph, and strengthen his escort. A  
 battalion was posted in the Castle of Segovia, which  
 was rendered defensible. Savary held himself in  
 readiness to move with the three divisions of Morlot,  
 Frère, and Musnier, and the cavalry of Caulaincourt

and Wathier ; troops which were either at Madrid or within two marches of it. Orders were transmitted to Dupont, to repass the mountains, and to approach near enough to Madrid to be able to arrive in that capital before the Spanish armies, in case the latter should be victorious.

Blake and Cuesta were defeated at Medina de Rio Seco. On hearing of this victory, Napoleon exclaimed, " It is Villa Viciosa ; Bessières has placed Joseph on the throne ! " \*

To justify the exclamation, the Emperor heaped favours on the victorious little army, and gave directions to resume the same offensive attitude that had been taken a month before the battle. For his own part, satisfied with having found a plausible pretext for removing to a distance from a theatre which awakened painful recollections, without affording him the means of gloriously effacing them, he quitted Bayonne on the night of the 21st of July.

French troops, meanwhile, continued to pass the Pyrenees ; and to complete the pacification of the

\* The comparison was erroneous. At Villa Viciosa, the Duke of Vendôme and Philip V. fought at the head of Spaniards against foreigners. At Medina de Rio Seco, the cause of Joseph was defended by foreigners against natives. At Villa Viciosa the fate of Spain was at stake ; almost the whole of the military forces employed in the Peninsula were brought together on the same field of battle ; all interests were concentrated ; the affair was decisive. Medina de Rio Seco was a mere point in space, a skirmish between two detachments ; it did not place Joseph on the throne ; it merely opened the gates of Madrid to him.



Peninsula, a new detachment of four infantry and two cavalry regiments was summoned from the grand army; from the Grand Duchy of Warsaw were brought nine thousand Polish infantry, who were taken into the French service. The Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine ordered the Prince-primate, the Grand-dukes of Baden and of Hesse Darmstadt, and the Duke of Nassau, to send each of them a regiment of foot and a battery of artillery. The guard which Joseph had at Naples began its march to join him in his new kingdom. Milan, Naples and Tuscany, were also to furnish their contingent. These formed a total of forty thousand men, destined to swell the ranks of the French, during the three months subsequent to the Emperor's departure; we shall soon see that this reinforcement was insufficient, and that the Spanish insurrection had not been extinguished on the plains of Rio Seco.

Andujar, where General Dupont took post after having evacuated Cordova, is a town situated on the edge of the right bank of the Guadalquivir, fourteen Spanish leagues (twenty French) from the Puerto del Rey, having in the rear several carriage roads, which branch out from this principal passage of the Sierra Morena, and particularly the royal road from Madrid to Granada. The position of Andujar is of itself badly calculated for defence, in the season when the Guadalquivir is fordable, and when, consequently, the points which must be guarded are in-



definitely multiplied. The General-in-chief endeavoured to render it stronger by additional works. A tower at the end of the bridge was made capable of containing infantry, and on the left bank a horn-work was constructed, to serve as a bridge head. This work, however, was useless, it being impossible to prevent its being enfiladed from the neighbouring mountain. Every body, even the conscripts, felt certain that, in case of the enemy attacking them, it would not be by the bridge that he would do it.

There was nothing whatever to justify the choice of such a position, especially since, in consequence of the junction with Vedel, it was known to be decided, that the corps of observation of the Gironde should remain on the defensive, till after the reduction of Saragossa and Valencia. Military reasons prescribed that operations should be confined to the defence of the Sierra Morena, by fortifying the passages, occupying in force the Despeña Perros, and keeping moveable columns at Santa Elena. In this position all the principal communications would have been commanded, and the approach of the enemy would have been seen. The communication with Madrid would have been more easy, and reinforcements would have been more expeditiously received, when the period arrived for resuming the offensive. The army would have drawn its provisions from La Mancha, which produces grain, and particularly rye, in abundance. While waiting for

magazines to be formed from the resources of the open country, the troops stationed in the mountain would have subsisted on the supply of biscuit which was accumulated at Santa Cruz de Mudela. The soldier would have recruited his spirits and strength, by drinking the excellent wines of Val de Peñas and Manzanarès.

General Dupont remained at Andujar with the divisions of Barbou and Fresia. He posted Vedel at Baylen, a distance of seven leagues behind him, and charged him to hold the Puerto del Rey and the communication with La Mancha. The banks of the Upper Guadalquivir are unhealthy, so much so, that a traveller has called them the eternal abode of putrid fevers. It was then the very hottest period of summer. Besides the burning heat of the sun, the soldiers suffered also the pangs of hunger. They had neither wine, vinegar, nor brandy, and they usually had but half a ration of bread, and sometimes but a quarter; wine was supplied only to the hospitals. The town of Andujar, which has a population of fourteen thousand souls, was, like the rest of the country, abandoned by its inhabitants. The soldiers were obliged to get in the harvest themselves, to thrash the grain, to grind it, and to bake their own bread. Since that period, this has become mere child's play to the troops of the army of Spain; but in 1808, they were not accustomed to it: the conscripts were attacked by disease; in less than a fortnight six hundred of them were sent to the hos-

pital. Those who did not fall sick, experienced a great diminution of strength, and lost the instruction, the discipline, and the unity of action, which they had acquired during the repose of the previous winter.

The necessity of covering the flanks of the army, of overawing the enemy, of keeping him in check till offensive warfare could be resumed, and of procuring provisions, led the French a second time to Jaën. Brigadier-general Cassagne, of Vedel's division, marched thither from Baylen, with four battalions. He passed the Guadalquivir in the ferry-boat, at the ford of Mengibar, and reached the town at noon on the 1st of July. The insurgents, more numerous than in the former case, and mingled with some detachments of regulars, were driven back beyond Jaën. The inhabitants had fled from their dwellings. On the 2nd, Major-general Don Theodor de Reding arrived with the Swiss regiment, No. 2, of the same name, and a squadron of royal carabineers, and attacked the French: he was repulsed. He renewed the attack on the 3d, but with no better success. These three actions cost the Spaniards more than fifteen hundred men. The French had two hundred killed and wounded. Among the latter was Battalion-colonel Magnesse, of the first legion. A brigade four leagues beyond the Guadalquivir was in a hazardous situation; Dupont, therefore, recalled it. General Cassagne returned, on the 4th, to Baylen. Some companies were left to guard

the ferry-boat of Mengibar. An engineer was also directed to reconnoitre carefully the fords of the river, and to construct redans for the defence of the passage.

In the mean time, when, by order of the Emperor, General Frère had advanced to San Clemente, the necessity of taking post in force at the point of Madrilejos, and of occupying La Mancha, was felt at Madrid. Brigadier-general Lefranc marched thither with the sixth provisional regiment, which formed a part of the second division of the corps of observation of the Ocean coasts. General Gobert, who commanded the division, followed Lefranc with his second brigade, composed of two temporary regiments of light infantry, two squadrons of cuirassiers, and four light field pieces. He pushed forward Lefranc, left a battalion at Madrilejos, another, with cannon, at Manzanarès, a third in the vicinity of Puerto del Rey, and, in obedience to the orders of Dupont, he descended into Andalusia with what remained. This remnant was trifling, but Dupont, who was conscious of his weakness, and the risk to which he was exposed, rallied round him the troops from all quarters. He incessantly solicited reinforcements from Madrid ; he wrote to Frère to join him, if he had no enemies at San Clemente. He represented to the Duke of Rovigo, that the diversions and the uncertainty of the arrival of Marshal Moncey at Granada, would not be equivalent to the addition of force which would be made by the direct



junction of two battalions with the corps of observation of the Gironde.

The fears which Dupont felt were not groundless. Inaction doubled, nay, quadrupled the enemy's strength, at the same time that it diminished ours. Every day's delay increased his confidence and his resources. Considerable forces, of various kinds, accumulated round him. The Junta of Seville issued its commands with all the vehemence of a government which had just burst into existence in the midst of popular storms. It was obeyed like a regular monarch, whose race had for centuries been seated on the throne. The three other kingdoms of Andalusia and Estremadura suspended their provincial rivalships, and rallied round it; and, while its recognition by the Indies was awaited, it was acknowledged by the Canaries. At the voice of the magistrates, whom Seville had named, there were renewed in Andalusia those patriotic sacrifices, which did eternal honour to the French Republicans of 1792. The young ran to arms; the old man offered his children; his children, more fortunate than he was, since they could shed their blood for their country. The treasury was filled by the gifts of the citizens: the calm, but gloomy and terrible attitude of the people completely silenced the vile calculations of avarice and selfishness. Rich and poor, noble and plebeian, all hastened to array themselves under the national banners. The old corps were completed, and new ones were formed. In less than a month the Junta could oppose to the French a regular

army of thirty-nine battalions and twenty-one squadrons, with a well-organized artillery. The greatest part was formed at Seville, the remainder at Malaga and Granada, by the active exertions of Theodore de Reding, who was destined to render celebrated in the annals of Spain, a name which Switzerland had long honoured, for the democratical virtues which were hereditary in his family. In the number there were many recruits without uniforms, but all had arms. These soldiers imbibed from the population a new energy, and they enhanced that energy by their eagerness to distinguish themselves. The English corps of General Spencer, which had landed at Cadiz, showed itself at a distance to friends and enemies, as a reinforcement to the Spaniards, or, at the least, as a reserve ready to support them in case of their receiving a check.

Lieutenant-general Don Francisco Xavier de Castanos was Commander-in-chief of the army. He was grown old in the profession of arms, and was beloved both by officers and soldiers for his mildness and his amiable manners. He possessed rather the shrewdness which can turn to account the glory of others, than the superior qualities which enable their possessor to acquire it for himself. The Junta of Seville distrusted the character of Castanos. It gave him, as a colleague, one of its most daring, enthusiastic, spirit-stirring members. Loaded with debts, and prosecuted at Madrid on a charge of forgery, Count Tilli had rushed into the revolution, after the manner of Catiline. Castanos could



do nothing without him. He was not allowed to receive even a flag of truce except in his presence.

The Andalusian troops successively bent their course to Cordova and to Jaën. They formed four divisions. The first, under the orders of Reding, was on the right. It was ten thousand strong, and contained the best troops. The second consisted of six thousand men, and was led by the Marquis of Coupigni, an old Walloon officer, and of a family which was originally from the Cambresis. The Junta had recently promoted him to be *Marechal de camp*. An old Irish officer, Brigadier Don Felix Jones, commanded the third division, which, joined to the reserve, under Don Juan Manuel de la Pena, amounted to between eight and ten thousand men. There was, besides, a corps of flankers, at the head of which were Lieutenant-colonel Don Juan De la Cruz and Colonel Valdecanos. On the 1st of July, Castanos sent to the French General the declaration of war issued against France by the Junta of Seville; the latter in return transmitted to the Spanish General the imperial decree, which proclaimed Joseph Napoleon King of Spain and the Indies. An attempt was made to open a negotiation with him; which, however, was frustrated by the will and the presence of Count Tilli. On the 9th of July, the head-quarters of the Spanish General were at Arjonilla, a league and a half from Andujar. The two armies might thenceforth be considered as in full operation.

Dupont was on his guard. As the Spaniards ex-

tended their right as far as Aldea del Rio, an officer of engineers was sent, on the 10th, with a battalion, by the right bank of the Guadalquivir, to the bridge of Marmolejo, of which he destroyed two arches, notwithstanding the Spaniards endeavoured to prevent him by a fire of musketry. It was arranged, that the moveable columns should set out each morning from Andujar and Baylen, to meet at the bridge of the Rumber. General Vedel was directed to watch the course of the Guadalquivir, and to send daily reconnoitring parties below Espelui, opposite Villa Nueva de la Reyna, and as far as a mill a league above Andujar. At the passage of Mengibar was established a corps of fifteen hundred men, commanded by Liger-Belair, a general-officer. This corps had a main-guard of cavalry on the left bank of the river.

This main-guard was almost entirely carried off by the enemy on the 13th, and the Spaniards established themselves strongly in the village of Mengibar. On the 14th they appeared in force on the heights of Arjona and Villa Nueva. In the whole distance between Andujar and Mengibar, there was a fire of musketry and cannon reciprocally kept up from each bank. On the 15th the French saw a numerous corps forming into masses on the heights between Arjonilla and Andujar. It was the third division and the reserve of Castanos. The Spaniards began to cannonade the bridge head with twelve and sixteen pounders. General Dupont manned the



works, and drew up his troops behind the town to receive the attack.

The danger was not there. Castanos had a confused notion of the faults of the position of Andujar, and of the manner in which the French troops were scattered about. Partly from instinct, and partly in consequence of the local situation of the points whence his forces directed their march, he had for two days been manœuvring in such a manner as to occupy the enemy with his left, while, by his right, he endeavoured to cut their line of operations. While the demonstration was making against Andujar, the second division, commanded by the Marquis de Coupigni, showed itself near Villa Nueva de la Reyna, ready to join, by its right, with the first division. Reding ordered Liger-Belair to be attacked by an advanced guard, which, however, hastened to repass the Guadalquivir, on the approach of General Vedel, who marched against it with his division from Baylen.

On the same day General Gobert arrived at Baylen. To Linares, a small town, three leagues from the road, he detached a battalion and one regiment of cuirassiers, and sent the other regiment to General Dupont; so that there remained with him only five or six hundred foot, two hundred horse, and three pieces of cannon. General Lefranc, who, during their advance, had been a march before him, reached Andujar with the sixth provisional regiment and several detachments of Barbou's and

Fresia's divisions. Thus, while the movement of the Spaniards was effecting from left to right, the French did not perceive the snare, but likewise drew their left closer towards their right.

In pursuance of this system, and in the persevering belief that Andujar was about to be attacked, and being in ignorance of what was going on before Mengibar, Dupont ordered Vedel to send him a reinforcement of a battalion, and even of a brigade, in case the enemy did not threaten Vedel himself with superior numbers. Vedel had not seen any considerable body of Spaniards engaged that day in the attack, and it seemed to be unnecessary for him to provide for the defence of Baylen, now that Gobert was arrived. Induced by these motives, and in some measure also, by the repugnance which general officers feel to fritter into small parties the troops which they command, he set out for Andujar, on the evening of the 15th, with all his division, except twelve hundred infantry, a hundred dragoons, and two pieces of cannon, which he left with General Liger-Belair, to guard the passage of Mengibar. General Gobert immediately recalled the cuirassiers from Linares; not that he did not think them useful on that point, for he warned the General-in-chief that the enemy was in force at Baeza, and in a situation to advance on La Carolina; but in order to post them at Baylen, which was unprotected, and to support Liger-Belair. During the night, Vedel's division made a toilsome

march, because it was by a road which is nearer to the Guadalquivir than the high road. On the morning of the 16th, while approaching Andujar, it heard a violent cannonade. It was Castanos, who was renewing the demonstrations of attack, which he began on the day before. This time columns were formed, as if to force a passage above the bridge. They retired, however, at the moment when Vedel's division appeared on the summit of the heights which overlook Andujar.

The action became general along the whole line. On the right of the French, Lieutenant-colonel Don Juan de la Cruz, at the head of sixteen hundred Spaniards, crossed the Guadalquivir on the bridge of Marmolejo, which had been repaired, and gained the mountains of Sementera, to the right and somewhat in the rear of General Dupont's position. General Lefranc hastened thither, with the sixth provisional regiment, compelled the flanking corps to fall back, and then returned to Andujar.


It was supposed that the Marquis de Coupigny wished to pass the Guadalquivir below Villa Nueva de la Reyna. The defence of this point was entrusted to two battalions of the fourth legion. They replied to the fire of the Spaniards, and though the latter had brought cannon, each party retained its position.

At Mengibar the combat wore a more serious aspect. General Reding posted some sharp-shooters opposite the boats, for the purpose of occupying the

enemy's attention, while the main body of his troops crossed the Guadalquivir, at the ford of Rincon, half a league above. As the Spaniards attacked with a superiority of eight to one, they made a rapid progress. Gobert, who, as soon as he heard of the attack, had begun his march to support Liger-Belair, joined the troops of that general midway between Baylen and Mengibar, and it was only by dint of the most strenuous exertions that he succeeded in rallying them. The enemy now slackened his march, though he continued to gain ground. While Gobert was bringing his troops into action, he was wounded in the head by a ball, of which he died on the following day.\* The command was assumed by Brigadier-general Dufour. Finding himself hard pressed, he ordered the cuirassiers to charge. This fine body of men overawed the Spaniards by its vigour. They halted, and before eleven o'clock in the morning the firing ceased. The French re-entered Baylen. The loss which they sustained was not considerable. Not only did the Spaniards leave them unpursued, but they also recrossed the Guadalquivir. Some have affirmed that they were in want of provisions; others have conjectured with more reason, that Reding did not think himself in safety on the right bank with a single division. However this may be, his retrograde

\* Gobert, an old friend of Dupont, having been his principal staff-officer in Tuscany, being desirous of serving with him, his division, which originally belonged to Moncey's corps, was exchanged for Frère's.





opinion of the army, in unison with the disposition of the sovereign, awarded the highest military rank ; and when he set on dalmatia, no one doubted that he would find shal's truncheon at Cadiz. In the battle of on the 25th of December, 1800, when he v the command of Brune, he changed into a attack the secondary operation with which entrusted ; and the obstinacy which he against the enemy, after the general-in-sent him orders to retreat, gained for Du fame of a daring general. This fame he and increased in the German campaign among those who most closely observed h were some who did not allow that he strong determination and the inspiration of ment ; but all agreed in acknowledging his courage and distinguished talents.

In the afternoon of the sixteenth, Dupont intelligence of what had taken place on

them, either beyond the Guadalquivir, to crush the soldiers and peasants of Castanos, or in the Sierra Morena, to guard the passes.

Of these two modes of proceeding, the first was most in accordance with the French character; the second suited best with the general state of affairs in the Peninsula. Now that the French fleet had fallen into the enemy's hands, there was no longer a reason for hurrying on to Cadiz. The Duke of Rovigo, on his succeeding to Murat, had expressed a wish that Dupont would remain in presence of the enemy till the first news had been received from Valencia; now, for the last four days, Moncey's failure had been known at Dupont's head-quarters. But, on the other hand, the main tenor of the correspondence was, that the Andalusian expedition was not given up, and that reinforcements would be sent as soon as difficulties were got rid of in other quarters; and it has since been ascertained, that the Emperor, looking upon Andujar as the key of Andalusia, and not having the means of forming a judgment as to its intrinsic merit, blamed Savary for having allowed the possibility of evacuating it; and adverse was he from a retrograde movement.

Dupont ordered Vedel to lead back immediately, to Baylen, his division and the sixth provisional regiment belonging to the division of the Corps of Observation of the Ocean; to rally the troops which had fought at the passage of Mengibar; and to drive the enemy to the other side of the river. He him-

self determined to remain at Andujar, which he persisted in considering as the most dangerous post. By thus disuniting the troops, and placing himself in the least central point, he ran the risk of those accidents which might arise from the erroneous direction, the faults and the omissions of which his subordinate officers might be guilty, in consequence of their having only an imperfect view of things.

While these dispositions were making at Andujar, and Vedel was preparing to execute them, Generals Dufour and Liger Belair were far from being tranquil at Baylen. Armed peasants and some soldiers had been seen coasting along the French left wing by the mountains, and endeavouring to extend their front beyond it. About seven in the evening, the battalion which occupied Linarès, was attacked by the flankers of Colonel Valdecanos, from Baeza, and retreated towards the high road. Dufour supposed that the enemy wished to seize on the Puerto del Rey. General Gobert, his predecessor, had been of the same opinion. The specific destination of his division being, not to fight in Andalusia, but to preserve the passes in the mountains, he in consequence moved with all his troops to Guarroman, three leagues from Baylen, on the high road.

Vedel, meanwhile, after marching during the whole of the night, arrived at Baylen, where he found neither friends nor enemies. He was told that Linarès had been evacuated the evening before; that Dufour had set off hastily to Guarroman to reach

that place before the Spaniards, and that the latter were already at La Carolina. Reconnoitring parties, which he sent out along the Guadalquivir, and who returned without having seen the enemy, appeared to confirm this opinion. Since Reding was not here, his absence probably arose from his manœuvring elsewhere. Vedel was a general of division, who had been rapidly raised to that elevated rank, for having formerly displayed, under the eyes of General Bonaparte, in Italy, a remarkable degree of bravery, and for having subsequently given the highest and most splendid reputation to a regiment of light infantry, which became a model to the army. Vedel had nothing more at heart than to serve with zeal, and to render himself worthy of the additional favour which the Emperor had recently granted him, in creating him a count of the empire. He was convinced that the enemy wished to arrive before him at the pass of the Sierra Morena, which was the key of the position. Dufour confirmed him in this idea, by writing from Guarroman, that a corps of ten thousand Spaniards was marching in the defiles. Vedel, not thinking Dufour strong enough, proceeded to Guarroman, joined the troops of General Dufour, and pushed him forward as far as Santa Elena, almost at the summit of the Sierra; then, after having scarcely allowed his division time to recover from the fatigue of its continual nightly and daily marches, he conducted it to La Carolina, at which place it arrived on the 18th.



#### 340 INSTRUCTIONS OF DUPONT TO VEDEL.

On his removing to this distance from his commander-in-chief, Vedel informed him of the step which he was taking. He sent from Baylen the report of General Dufour. He despatched a second when he reached Guarroman. Brigadier-General Cavrois remained at Baylen, with a battalion and piece of cannon, during the whole of the 17th, and did not set out till midnight, to take post at Guarroman, for the purpose of watching the movements of the enemy on the side of Linarès.

Dupont approved of the exertions which Vedel had made to outstrip the Spaniards. "March against them," wrote he to Vedel, "drive them back on Baeza and Ubeda; secure the post of Baylen, and then rejoin me.—I do not care about occupying Andujar. That post is of no consequence. The essential thing is to beat the enemy, and to avail ourselves of his being dispersed in small corps, in order to crush him."

Thus the unfortunate illusion which had led him to occupy, guard, and fortify a position so much out of the proper defensive line, began to vanish. It vanished entirely when he read Vedel's second report, which arrived before noon on the 18th. Vedel's quitting the important post of Baylen, the enormous gap between Barbou and the rest of the army, and even the inaction of the Spanish troops that remained with Castaños on the heights of Arjonilla, all declared how precious was time. But Dupont had a great number of carriages (*impedimenta*) with the

troops, and he considered it indispensable to conceal his march from Castaños. The dispositions were made to put the troops in motion at night-fall. It was too late.

Not a movement of the French army, not a plan, not a thought, of its general escaped the Spaniards. Since the 15th. they had intercepted all the letters which Dupont despatched to Madrid. Along with the expression of an eager desire to keep his ground at Andujar, and to resume the offensive as soon as possible, his correspondence disclosed to them a distrust arising from the scantiness of his means, and an undefined uneasiness as to the future. The Spanish generals were particularly struck with his account of the terrible distress of the French soldiers; a distress, the details of which formed as it were the ground of the picture that Dupont never failed to paint of his situation. They determined, therefore, to carry into effect the plan which they had hitherto only meditated upon.

On the evening of the 17th, General Reding's division passed the Guadalquivir. It was joined on the morning of the 18th, by that which the Marquis de Coupigni commanded. After having effected their junction, the two divisions marched to Baylen. They had orders to march, on the morrow, against Andujar, and to take that position in the rear, while Castaños attacked it in front, and the main corps of Don Juan de la Cruz appeared on the flanks.

From Andujar to Baylen the distance is seven leagues. The road passes through a mountainous and woody country, and leaves far to the left the high mountains of the Sierra Morena, which are almost always in sight, and to the right the Guadalquivir, the course of which is not visible. At four leagues and a half from Andujar, a stone bridge crosses the Rumblar; this is a winding river, of which the banks are steep, and the bed is filled with rocks. Beyond rises a hill with a flat summit, covered with olives, which decreases in height towards Baylen, and round the foot of which, on the north-west side, runs the valley of the Rumblar. After having passed the plantation of olives, and arrived within half a league of the town, the traveller comes to another bridge, over a rivulet which runs into the Guadiel.

These details are necessary, to enable the reader to comprehend the unprecedented events which we are about to relate. General Dupont quitted Andujar at nine o'clock on the evening of the 18th, after having destroyed the bridge on the Guadalquivir, and the horn-work on the left bank. The march was begun by an advanced guard, under the orders of Brigadier-general Chabert, composed of the select companies and the first battalion of the fourth legion, a squadron of chasseurs, and two four-pounders. At an interval of half a league came the rest of the legion, and four pieces of artillery belonging to General Dupré's brigade of horse chasseurs. Then

followed a long file of more than five hundred artillery and baggage waggons, which were silently escorted by the soldiers of the second battalion of the fourth Swiss regiment. Next succeeded the Swiss brigade, lately in the Spanish service, General Panetier's brigade of infantry, the dragoons, the cuirassiers, and the marine battalion of the imperial guard. The march was closed by a rear guard of six select companies, fifty dragoons, and two four-pounders. The General-in-chief, Dupont, headed the two thousand six hundred combatants who preceded the baggage. The General of division, Barbou, marched with that portion of the column which brought up the rear.

On the 19th, at half past three in the morning, the advanced guard traversed the flat summit which is beyond the Rumblar. Don Theodore Reding was at that moment forming his columns on the further side of the hill, to lead them against Andujar. In the darkness, the French light troops came in contact with some Spanish soldiers. A fire of musketry was commenced on both sides; the advanced guard was immediately ranged in order of battle, in the olive plantation. The Spaniards also placed themselves in battle array, Coupigni's division to the north, and Reding's division to the south, of the high road. A battalion of Walloon guards, on which they reckoned greatly, was divided into two, to strengthen the two wings. Two batteries of artillery, one of which was served by horse artillery-men,



were already harnessed and in march. These were instantly brought into play.

Dupont saw that it was necessary, at all hazards, to force the passage to Baylen, and that it was also indispensable to attack with speed and vigour, that Castaños might not have time to come up with the rear guard. He ordered up reinforcements. The rear of the column was nearly three leagues distant from the head. These troops marched in close order, and the baggage pressed forward, and doubled their files on the flat summit. Barbou made dispositions to defend the bridge and the left bank, against the enemy advancing from Andujar.

While waiting for succours, the advanced guard sustained with energy an unequal contest. It lost no ground, but it suffered severely from the enemy's fire, and its two four-pounders were dismounted. The remainder of Chabert's brigade, General Dupré's horse chasseurs, the dragoons, General Privé's cuirassiers, and General Schramm's Swiss brigade, at length arrived on the field of battle. The instant they came up, they were brought into action, without waiting for the chances of success being increased by a greater accumulation of force.

Chabert and Dupré fought on the road and to the left. The latter, an old warrior, worthy of praise for his military virtues, was mortally wounded in combating against the Walloon guards, the regiment of *las ordenes militares*, and the other troops which were commanded by Brigadier Don Francisco de Saevedra. But it was on the right of the road that the

most strenuous efforts were made. Here, by his voice and his example, the brave Reding animated the courage of his inexperienced soldiers. Swiss contended against Swiss; Schramm was wounded at the head of those who marched under the French standard. The cuirassiers destroyed a regiment of Spanish infantry, and sabred the cannoneers on their guns. The fourth legion, led by Major Teulet, advanced beyond the rivulet; but the Spaniards, being more numerous, continued to extend their wing beyond those of their enemy. The French troops of the centre were compelled to retrograde, and to abandon not only the cannon which they had taken, but also the two four-pounders which were dismounted at the commencement of the battle.

About ten in the morning, Pannetier's brigade came up and took part in the conflict. These soldiers, who had hurried from the rear of the column, through the olives, and the waggons, and suffocated by clouds of dust, were fatigued before they began to engage. The artillery, scattered in various parts of the column, arrived by fragments; the consequence of this was, that the French had never more than six pieces in battery at once, and, notwithstanding their usual mastery in the use of this weapon, they were almost immediately overwhelmed by the superior fire of the Spaniards. It was under these inauspicious circumstances that the French recommenced the attack on the enemy. Their last reserve soon entered the field; it consisted of Captain

d'Augier's marine battalion of the imperial guard. They were only three hundred men, but they were three hundred whom no fears could ever make falter. They made such exertions as were to be expected from their courage. The cavalry, also, came again into action. Several times the Spanish line was broken. Their reserves, however, always at hand, uniformly came up at the critical moment to repel successive efforts, and all that the French could accomplish was, to preserve the position which they occupied at the outset of the engagement.

Noon was now past. In the different attacks the Spaniards had had only two hundred and forty-three men killed, and seven hundred and thirty-five wounded. On the side of the French, nearly two thousand men were either killed or rendered unfit for service. In this number were many superior officers; the General-in-chief himself was hurt. The unfortunate soldiers were worn out by a march of fifteen hours and a combat of eight. The majority of them saw a battle for the first time. Their bodies were debilitated by the sufferings which they had undergone at Andujar. The sun of Andalusia darted down on them its pungent rays (*rayos picantes de Andalusia*), at the height of the dog days. They were dying with thirst, and water was not to be procured at less than a quarter of a league's distance. To crown the whole, they were so weakened by profuse perspiration, that they were unable either to march or to carry their arms. Desertion now took

place from the Swiss\* regiments of Reding, No. 2, and of Prœux, which had fought so gallantly on the right; there remained in the French ranks only the two Colonels, a small number of officers, and eighty soldiers. Despairing of being able to lead his troops to the attack, and being in ignorance of the proceedings of Vedel and Dufour, General Dupont proposed a suspension of arms to General Reding. It was accepted without any discussion.

While the parley was carrying on, the Spanish troops took post on the heights on the right bank of the Rumblar, from the high road to above the convent of San Vicente. Dupont had succeeded in concealing his march from Castaños. The latter obtained no information respecting it, till day-break on the morning of the nineteenth. He remained himself at Andujar with the third division, and pushed forward Lapeña, but the latter arrived too late to bear a part in the contest. He fired twelve cannon-shot, to apprise Reding of his arrival. The other troops which the French saw coming up, on the bank of the Rumblar, were those of Don

\* In the Swiss regiments in the service of Spain, only the officers and a small number of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers were Swiss. The recruiting was carried on by the families to which the regiments and companies belonged. It was rather kidnapping than enlisting. Germans, Italians, and deserters of all nations, were received. After the peace of Lunéville, they were filled with Austrian prisoners, given up to them by France. The administration of these regiments was as bad as the mode of recruiting them.



Juan de la Cruz. The two thousand men, whom that officer commanded, on their being driven, on the 16th, from the heights of Sementera, fell back on Peñas del Moral; they advanced again at day-break, on the 19th, as soon as they heard the firing in the direction of Baylen. Don Juan took the mountain road of Baños, to form a junction with Reding's corps; and, judging that the combat was taking place among the olives, he sent down the hill a considerable number of sharp-shooters, who ambushed themselves in the rocks of the Rumblar, on the left flank of the French, and within double the distance of musket-shot.

While all the corps of the Spanish army were acting concentrically against the eight thousand men immediately under Dupont, where were the other troops commanded by that General? We left Vedel at La Carolina on the morning of the 18th. He sent reconnoitring parties into the mountains and to all the openings of the passes; the same was done from Santa Elena. These parties returned without having seen or learned any thing. The Spanish corps which, on the preceding evening, had been seen, or were supposed to be seen, marching in the defiles parallel with the high road, had disappeared. As the Spanish army no longer occupied the Sierra, it was evidently operating on some other point. Vedel spent the 18th at La Carolina, to rest his division, and refit his ar-

tillery; but he recalled General Dufour, ordering him, at the same time, to leave two battalions at Santa Elena, and four companies at Despeña Perros.

When, at daybreak on the 19th, a cannonade was heard on the side of Baylen, Vedel was six leagues distant from that place. Having inexperienced soldiers under his command, he was desirous to keep them in close order, and have them ready for action. The march, therefore, was slow. He did not reach Guarroman till nine in the morning. Though the thunder of the cannon was still heard, the General allowed his soldiers to halt; he could not refuse this, after three days and three nights of incessant marches.

Overpowered by the excessive heat, and suffocated by the clouds of dust which covered them on their progress, the soldiers ran in crowds to the rivulet to quench their thirst. At this moment a flock of goats happened to cross the road. The soldiers, to whom, amidst eternal marches and countermarches, it had been impossible to make regular distributions of provisions, now pounced upon the goats, cut them up, and made their soup. The halt ought to have lasted only long enough to take breath, but Vedel had the weakness to grant it for an hour, and it was protracted much more. Towards noon, as the cannonade ceased, Vedel concluded that the danger was over. On recommencing his march to Baylen with his divi-

sion, he left at Guarroman that of General Dufour, and General Lagrange's brigade of cuirassiers; so strongly was he prepossessed with his opinion.

About noon, the column was again in motion. On approaching Baylen, troops were perceived; Vedel had no doubt that they were those of General Dupont, returned from Andujar. They were soon, however, recognized to be Spaniards. General Vedel, however, lost not a moment in recalling General Lagrange's cuirassiers, and the first brigade of Dufour's division, under the orders of General Lefranc; he then began to make his dispositions for the attack.

Exhausted by heat and fatigue, the Spanish soldiers were taking their *siesta*. As soon as the advanced posts on the Guarroman road caught sight of the French, Reding stationed Coupigni's division on this side, without making it pass through Baylen; a battalion of the regiment of Ireland, with two pieces of cannon, was established on a knoll to the right of the road, facing the Sierra. The other battalion of Ireland and the regiment of *los ordenes militares* took up a position at the hermitage of San Cristoval, which is on the left; the remainder were drawn up in masses behind. While thus preparing to receive the French, Reding sent two officers with a flag of truce, to inform them that a suspension of arms had been agreed upon with General Dupont. "Tell your General, that I care nothing about that, and that I am going to attack him," was



Vedel's reply. The bearers of the flag of truce, however, remonstrated, and pledged their honour that an officer of the French staff was, at that very moment, at their head-quarters. Recollecting himself after the first impulse of feeling had subsided, which however is always the best guide to brave men, the French General consented to send his aid-de-camp to the enemy's head-quarters, to verify the fact, but he enjoined him to return within a quarter of an hour.

Half an hour elapsed, but as the aid-de-camp did not come back, Vedel let his troops loose on the enemy; Brigadier-general Cassagne, with the first legion, marched straight to the knoll, which was the enemy's right, while General Boussard led the sixth provisional regiment of dragoons on their flank and rear. The first battalion of Ireland laid down its arms; the cannons were taken, and part of a militia regiment, which, defended them, was sabred by the dragoons. At the same time Battalion-colonel Roche, of the fifth legion, attacked in column the position of the hermitage; this was the most important point to the Spaniards, as it was by this that the assailants could join the troops of General Dupont, which were only at a league's distance. The position was obstinately maintained by Colonel Don Francisco Soler, at the head of the regiment of *las ordenes militares*. By the resistance of the enemy, Vedel was made sensible of the deplorable situation in which Dupont must be; his mind was



agitated by deep regret for his tardiness in the morning, not having come up in time to bear a part in the combat ; all he could now do was to renew it. His artillery cannonaded the hermitage, and he himself was marching at the head of Poin-sot's brigade, the battalions of which he had formed into attacking columns, when one of General Dupont's aids-de-camp, accompanied by two Spanish officers, came up, in the midst of the firing, and gave him a written order to desist from hostilities, there being a treaty on foot for an armistice, the conditions of which would be notified.

As every thing passed through the hands of the Spaniards, General Dupont did not enter into any detail with respect to the circumstances which had preceded the suspension of arms. The aid-de-camp was not more explicit on the subject ; the two officers spoke the language of conciliation and peace. It was not known, in Vedel's corps, whether the arrangement had been proposed by the Spaniards or the French. Nay, some persons, and even the General himself, entertained the strange idea, that the negociation had been opened on political bases, and that nothing less was meant than to reconcile the pretensions of the insurrectional juntas, with the interests and the rights of Joseph Napoleon, and restore peace to Spain. Such high considerations were not necessary to determine Vedel to obey ; he ordered the firing to cease, and retained the position

the prisoners, the standards, and the cannon, which his troops had taken.

Here ended the operations of war,—war, in which the courage of the soldiers sometimes repairs the faults of the General, and in which it rarely happens that the bitterness of a noble sorrow is not mitigated by the splendour of high achievements. It now remains for us to narrate the circumstances of a disastrous negotiation.

Being no longer in a condition to fight, Dupont considered the troops which he had with him as a besieged garrison, reduced to extremity for want of provisions, and which shortly would be without ammunition. He sent Captain Villoutreys, the Emperor's equerry, who was employed on the general staff of the Gironde corps of observation, to propose that General Reding should permit the troops to pass by Baylen, for the purpose of retiring to Madrid. Reding, as we have already said, granted a suspension of hostilities; but, for every thing further, he referred the French messenger to general Castaños at Andujar. The latter had not, in the slightest degree, anticipated such an event as had taken place at Baylen. He could hardly venture to believe the success. That part of his army which had been engaged had not more than ten cartridges per man left. Vedel and Dufour might, at any moment, descend from the Sierra Morena, and change the aspect of affairs. The prudent Castaños, therefore,



declared to Captain Villoutreys, that he was ready to treat on terms honourable to the French troops. On this answer being transmitted to the leader of the French, Brigadier-general Chabert, formerly a Deputy to the National Assemblies, and accustomed to the management of public affairs, set out for Andujar, with full powers to negotiate and sign a convention.

Chabert had not to deal with Castaños alone; he had also to convince the commissioner of the Junta of Seville, the Count de Tilli, a shrewd but austere man, who, in every thing, except the rigidity of republican virtue, played in this army the same part which, in 1794, was played in the French armies by the representatives of the people. The easiness which the Spaniards had at first displayed was soon succeeded by lofty pretensions. It was known at Andujar that Vedel, after having attacked Reding, had stopped short in the career of victory. A letter was intercepted, by which the Duke of Rovigo ordered Dupont to hasten back with his army to Madrid, in order to arrest the progress of the troops which were advancing from Galicia and Old Castile under the orders of Blake and Cuesta. From lofty pretensions the Spaniards proceeded to insult. They gave vent to bitter reproaches, respecting the excesses committed by the French in Andalusia; and, throwing on the General the whole weight of the blame incurred by his army, they went so far as to refuse to treat with the man whose first pro-

posal to suspend hostilities they had received with so much eagerness.

In the French camp there was an illustrious character, whom his evil star had led to this theatre of misfortune. General Marescot, first inspector general of engineers, and, in that capacity, a grand officer of the Empire, had been sent into Andalusia, to fortify Cadiz, and prepare the means of taking Gibraltar. Making his way through a thousand dangers, he had managed to join the corps of observation of the Gironde, and had remained with it, because the march to Cadiz seemed to be only postponed, and, especially, because very rarely, under the reign of the Emperor Napoleon, was any one suffered, without his order, to quit the post assigned to him. The reputation of Marescot stood high in Spain; in the first place, from his real merit; in the second, because, after the peace of Basle, in 1795, it was he who was commissioned by the French Government to give up to Spain the fortresses, artillery, and other conquered objects, which were restored. Don Francisco Xavier de Castaños, then Marechal de camp, was appointed by his Catholic Majesty to receive them. The liberal manner in which the French commissioner performed this office, gave rise to reciprocal feelings of esteem and kindness in the two delegated generals. The moment to turn these to advantage was now come. Dupont intreated Marescot to take the management of the negotiation. The repugnance of the latter was overcome by the



interest of the army, and the imminent and individual danger to which the soldiers were exposed. He proceeded to Andujar, and regard for the new negotiator induced Castanos to resume the negotiation.

These delays prolonged and aggravated the sufferings of the French. The unfortunate men were crowded together, to the number of eight thousand, in the midst of five hundred waggons and three thousand horses, on a space of twelve hundred square toises, infected by the stench that arose from the putrifying carcases of men and horses, which it was impossible to bury in ground burnt up by the drought. The Spanish army, accumulating round them, kept hemming them in closer and closer, so that they could no longer move either in front or rear. The division which was before Baylen prevented them from procuring water at the only well which there was on the ground. To obtain drink, they were obliged to descend into the valley of the Rumbler, under the fire of the peasants, who had joined the flankers of Don Juan de la Cruz. Men and horses sunk from inanition. Though, in granting the suspension of arms, Reding and Castaños had agreed to furnish the French with provisions, the latter received only one scanty supply of biscuit and pulse. The sun darted vertically on the soldiers, as they lay stretched on the ground near the withered olives. So intense was the heat, that the dry herbs took fire, and, to prevent accidents, it was every moment necessary to remove the ammunition-waggons.

Meanwhile, the aide-de-camp Meunier, who had been sent on the 19th to Reding's head-quarters by Vedel, and had not found Captain Villoutreys there, he having departed for Andujar, had succeeded in reaching General Dupont. He was an officer of a penetrating glance and vigorous conceptions. He returned, on the morning of the 20th, bringing with him an order from the General-in-chief, to restore to the Spaniards the prisoners, cannon, and standards which had been taken from them; and at the same time he advised that it should not be executed. "I have seen our comrades," said he loudly in the camp, "they are spirit-sunk, petrified, annihilated. We are lost if the General does not declare himself independent." There is a very wide difference between the qualities necessary to execute, under ordinary circumstances, dispositions made by another, and the compass of mind which, in an unforeseen case, requires to take counsel only from one's-self, and, in the midst of the extraordinary and the irregular, to discover by inspiration what is just and right. By his obedience, Vedel had already checked the impulse of his soldiers when they were about to conquer; now, he despoiled them of the trophies of their valour, by virtue of an order written under the dictation of the Spanish General, and transmitted through the ranks of the enemy.

The unseasonable subordination of Vedel did not tranquillize him. The slowness with which the ne-



gotiation was carried on tranquillized him still less. A rumour was spread among the soldiers that the Spaniards were in motion to surround them, and clouds of dust, which were seen at a distance on the right and left, seemed to give confirmation to this report. Captain Baste, a superior officer attached to Vedel's division, was now sent by him to General Dupont, to propose a combined attack on the troops of Reding; or, if the General-in-chief would not risk a combat, at least to take a part in the conferences, and negotiate for the interests of General Vedel's troops.

Dupont was again eager to fight. What the aid-de-camp Meunier had told him of the good dispositions of Vedel's forces, what Captain Baste had recently suggested, and still more, the recollection of the glory which he had gained on the banks of the Mincio, the Danube, and the Elbe, produced a strong effect upon his mind. Several general officers proposed to sacrifice the artillery and the baggage, and to march headlong against Baylen. The engineers declared that, by breaking through the weak line which the flankers of Don Juan de la Cruz formed, it was possible to reach the mountains and rejoin Vedel. But, to execute any kind of vigorous resolution, it is necessary to be at the head of soldiers. Now, these unfortunate beings were no longer soldiers; they were a mere flock, subjugated by corporeal wants, over whom no moral influence could be exercised. Not a spark, not a single ener-

ic sally, appeared in the officers of regiments; but this was the consequence of their original formation having been defective. It is affirmed, too, that perverse wishes, manifested in higher quarters, and the desire of preserving an infamous booty, interacted the generous intentions of the Commander-in-chief, and of a multitude of brave men. The pillage of Cordova, and a protracted neglect of discipline, had unstrung their minds, and prepared them to listen without horror to the proposal of laying down their arms.

The admission of Captain Baste to the conferences at Andujar was refused. Borne down by the assiduity which his extreme distress gave to the Spaniards, Dupont, in the course of the 20th, repeatedly issued contradictory orders. Sometimes he charged Vedel not to quit his position; sometimes he directed him to consider himself as independent, and to take advantage of the darkness, for the purpose of retiring to the Sierra Morena and covering Madrid. General Vedel considered the latter order as that which it was most advisable to execute. Leaving in his position only one squadron of dragoons and four companies of light troops, to deceive the enemy, he marched all night with the remainder. He arrived at Santa Elena at ten in the morning of the 21st, and, though several hundred stragglers had dropped behind, he prepared to proceed as soon as his troops should have had a little rest. In the mean while he pushed forward the baggage and two battalions to El Viso.



An artillery officer was sent with powder, to form mines in the rocks of Despeña Perros, and render that defile impracticable after the troops should have passed it.

As soon as the Spaniards were aware of this movement, they raised a cry of treachery. They signified to Dupont that the negotiation should be broken off, if Vedel did not discontinue his retreat. Greatly must they have grown in importance, woefully must the French have dwindled, when the former could complain of that which was their safety. Dupont despatched an officer in haste to Vedel, to enjoin him to stop. Vedel, however, paid no attention to this verbal injunction; but, shortly after, there arrived at Santa Elena, first, Martial Thomas, second of the general staff, and next, Captain Baste, both bearers of formal and written orders. The General-in-chief directed Vedel to halt, wherever he might be, as his troops were comprehended in the treaty which had been concluded at Andujar.

Though the conditions of this treaty were not yet known, indignation burst forth in all quarters. It was an absolute tumult. The soldiers would not hear a word of surrendering to the Spaniards. Several of the officers pressed Vedel not to consent to disgraceful terms; they represented to him, that being no longer at liberty, Dupont had lost the right of commanding them; that the French were masters of the passes, and had the start of the enemy by twelve hours. Faithful to the rules of subordina-

tion which he had laid down for himself, Vedel directed the superior officers to calm the effervescence of the soldiers, and to wait with patience the arrival of final orders. Those orders were not long delayed. In the course of the night, Vedel received the convention, which was not signed and ratified till the following day. By this convention, the troops under the immediate command of General Dupont were prisoners of war. The divisions of Vedel and Dufour were only to evacuate Andalusia, but that evacuation was to take place by sea; and, provisionally, those who were not prisoners, as well as those who were such, were to be disarmed. To the former, however, their artillery and arms were to be restored at the period of their embarkation.

By the time that this notification was made to the troops, the officers had even more than succeeded in calming the effervescence of the soldiers. Alarming reports were current in the camp, as to Spanish columns passing by the rear, and invading La Mancha. Individuals, who came from Dupont's head-quarters, told the soldiers, that the lives of eight thousand of their comrades depended on their resignation to a destiny which, after all, had nothing very rigorous in it, since they were to be sent back to France with their arms, and with their honour unsullied. This language made an impression on the multitude. Vedel having called a council of war, to decide upon the step which ought to be taken, there were twenty-three general or su-

perior officers present, of whom only four persisted in the opinion of the preceding evening, to continue their march to Madrid. All the rest voted for passive and blind obedience to the orders of the General-in-chief. This decision being carried by so great a majority, was adopted by General Vedel.

Nor was this all; the chains accepted at Andujar served to bind brave men, who did not so much as know that there had been fighting, and to whom, as they were out of Andalusia, no article of the convention was applicable, even according to the utmost latitude of construction. Captain Villoutreys, the same who, being sent to Reding, had the first hand in this deplorable convention, now set out, with an escort of Spanish horse, to carry it to Madrid. He directed on Baylen the detachments of French troops who guarded the baggage and the magazines of provisions, at El Viso and Santa Cruz de Mudela. On seeing the orders of which this officer was the bearer, the commandant of Manzanarès had the weakness to bring his battalion also to this rendezvous of misfortune, though he was at a distance of more than five-and-twenty leagues from it. If the doctrine which was prevalent in the corps of observation of the Gironde, as to the rights attached to the command, and the sanctity of obligations, had been carried to its full extent, the garrisons of Pampeluna and Saint Sebastian, in case they had been composed of troops under the orders of Dupont, would have been obliged, like the others, to

give themselves up to be decimated. Saint Eglise, a battalion-colonel of Dufour's division, who was stationed with a battalion at Madrilejos, was the first who refused to consider himself bound by the convention of Andujar.

On the 23d the troops of Dupont, after having fled off before Castaños and Lapeña, generals who had not encountered them, laid down their arms and surrendered as prisoners, to the number of eight thousand two hundred and forty-two men. Vedel's force was nine thousand three hundred and ninety-three. They gave up on the 24th, at Baylen, their artillery, and their arms, which they piled in front of the line, and which were received by Spanish commissioners, who made an inventory of them. It had been agreed, that the muskets should be conveyed in waggons, in the rear of the column, and should be restored, together with the artillery, at the moment when the embarkation took place. Nothing of this was done; and the victims of obedience, of passive obedience, were treated in the same manner as the vanquished. Neither the one nor the other were again to behold their country. The cruel foreboding which they felt of this, increased the shame which they experienced at having grounded their arms before a herd of half-clothed, badly-armed, ill-managed soldiers. In a very short time, from a distance of several leagues round, the peasants, exasperated by the calamities which they had endured, hurried to meet the prisoners on



the road, and loaded them with abuse. The sacred vessels of the churches of Cordova and Jaën were demanded, with insults and threats. To prevent blood from being shed, the columns did not pass through the towns, and Castaños addressed pacifying proclamations to his countrymen; often were the Spanish soldiers of the escort compelled to resort to force to restrain the people, and save the lives of those who were under their charge: the fellow-feeling which military men have for misfortunes to which they are themselves daily exposed, prompted them to the ready performance of this duty. At Puerto de Santo Marina, four or five thousand peasants made a descent from the hills against the French, and, in conjunction with the people of the town, wished to massacre them. It was with difficulty that the escape of the general officers could be effected in the boats, which were to convey them to fort Saint Sebastian at Cadiz. The general officers and the officers of the staff were the only persons allowed to return to France; the rest, officers and soldiers, after having spent some time in the villages near Cadiz, were stowed into hulks in the harbour, whence they were not removed till a long subsequent period, and then only to make them endure a still harsher captivity, by placing them at the mercy of the malevolent English Government. With the exception of a small number of soldiers, who, having entered the Spanish service, at length found an opportunity of rejoining their own stan-

dards, and others, who succeeded in escaping from Cadiz bay, the whole of this army was lost to France.

When Napoleon learned the disaster of Baylen, he did not strike his head against his palace walls: he did not exclaim, "Varus, Varus, restore to me my legions!" The loss of seventeen thousand inexperienced soldiers was easily to be repaired by him who could dispose of the lives of forty millions of men. But he wept tears of blood on his humbled eagles, on the insulted honour of the French arms. That virginity of glory, which he had deemed inseparable from the tricoloured flag, was for ever lost; the charm was broken; the Invincibles had been vanquished, had been made to pass under the yoke; and by whom? By those, whom, according to the policy of Napoleon, it was of consequence to consider and to treat as a mere mob of beggarly revolters! His correct and rapid glance penetrated into the future. By the capitulation of Andujar, the Junta, which had hitherto been only a committee of insurgents, was become a regular government, a power.\* Spain must, all at once, have appeared in

\* In England, and in every country which is free and regularly governed, the Convention of Andujar would have been the subject of a solemn enquiry. The caprices of despotism are not always in accordance with its own interests. What ought Napoleon to have done? What did the case prescribe, looking at it merely with a view to utility? The greatest publicity should have been given to the affair; an appeal should have



his eyes, high-souled, noble, ardent, formidable, such as it was in the days of its heroic age. Imagination effaced from the pages of history the tarnished recollections of the last Austrian kings, and of the Bourbon dynasty, and blended together the tri-

been made, from Spain puffed up by unexpected success, to the cool and enlightened reason of uninterested parties. It would have been demonstrated, by a judicial and impartial enquiry, that French power was not affected, that her glory was scarcely touched, that the victor had profited, suddenly, and almost unconsciously, of a concatenation and complication of faults and misfortunes, of such a kind, that these same data, combined together in a thousand different ways with the same men, and under the same circumstances, could not twice have produced the same result. If the judges had found any persons guilty, the sovereign had the right of pardoning errors committed by men of acknowledged merit, who had performed previous and signal services. He would thus have reserved to himself the happiness of displaying his clemency, without losing the benefit of the example. Instead of this, a thick veil was thrown over the disastrous events of Baylen. Nothing transpired, but that which it was impossible to conceal from the public curiosity. It was known that the general officers, who had borne a part in these events, were arrested, and all involved in the same fate, whatever might have been the difference of their situation, and even of their opinions.

In 1809, the Emperor saw, in the square of Valladolid, Brigadier-general Legendre, the chief officer of General Dupont's staff, and who, in that capacity, had officially signed the copies of the Treaty of Andujar. A nervous contraction of the muscles seemed to seize him, and he addressed the following harsh words to Legendre:—"What, General! did not your hand wither up when you signed that infamous capitulation!" Subsequently, those who were most about Napoleon's person, never heard him

umphs of Pavia and the laurels of Baylen. What enormous forces, what efforts would it not now be necessary to employ, to subjugate a nation which had begun to feel its strength, and which even over-rated it ! and what an effect would be produced on

speak of Baylen, without his manifesting a degree of indignation, which was but too well justified by the already obvious consequences of that fatal event.

A report was prevalent in Europe, and the English newspapers either propagated or repeated it, that General Dupont had been put to death in a dungeon. Pity was excited for a man who was esteemed, and who was considered as a victim of despotism. A still warmer interest was felt for General Marescot, who, strong in his innocence and the purity of his intentions, demanded a fair and open trial. He had been desirous of being useful to his fellow-countrymen : he was already unfortunate enough in seeing, without having been compelled, his illustrious name associated with disastrous events, in which he had no share. It was asked, how it was possible to regard as criminal, one general acting under the orders of a superior, and sacrificing himself through an excess of subordination and obedience ; another, who, being appointed to discuss the capitulation under the eyes of the General, was merely the digester of it ; and, lastly, the chief of the staff, who, having no other functions than those of registering and transmitting the orders of his commander, had not even the right of exercising any control ?

Four years subsequently, when other events had made those of Baylen be forgotten, Napoleon, who was about to recommence the war in the North, wished, with reference to the affair of Baylen, to establish a military law for similar cases. A council of enquiry, formed from a commission of the Imperial High Court, sat with closed doors, and interrogated the persons arraigned. The means of defence which the latter employed, and even the opinion of the High Court, remain unknown. An



imperial decree was issued against General Dupont and others. Public opinion regarded all these proceedings as work of despotism ; but its attention was soon turned to catastrophes. A short time after this, an imperial decree appeared,\* which prohibited every General, or commander of men, whatever might be his rank, to treat for capitulation, either verbally or by writing, while in the open field, and declared disgraceful and criminal, and, as such, punishable with death, every capitulation of that kind, of which the only object should be to make the troops lay down their arms.

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\* Imperial decree of the 1st of May, 1812.

HISTORY  
OF THE  
WAR IN THE PENINSULA,  
UNDER NAPOLEON;

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED  
A VIEW OF THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY  
STATE OF THE FOUR BELLIGERENT POWERS.

BY GENERAL FOY.

PUBLISHED BY THE COUNTESS FOY.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

VOL. II.—PART II.



LONDON:

TREUTTEL AND WÜRTZ, TREUTTEL, JUN. AND RICHTER:

SOLD BY

CADELL AND CO. EDINBURGH; JOHN CUMMING, DUBLIN.

1827.

**London :**

**PRINTED BY S. AND R. BENTLEY, DORSET STREET.**

## **BOOK VII.**

### **THE INVASION OF SPAIN.**



Effect produced on the determinations of the French, and on the dispositions of the Spaniards, by the battle of Baylen—Retreat of the French armies to the Ebro.—Insurrection of Bilbao—Continuation of the operations against Saragossa—The siege is raised—Junction of Lefebvre-Desnouettes' corps with the Army—Campaign in Catalonia—Observations on circumstances peculiar to that province—Movement of the troops towards Lerida and Tarragona—Combat at Bruch—The detachment under General Schwartz returns to Barcelona—General Chabran's detachment returns from Tarragona to Barcelona—The whole of Catalonia rises against the French—Duhesme attempts to carry the fortress of Girona by a coup-de-main—Expedition of the Llobregat and the Valleys—Preparations on the French frontier, to succour the Corps of Observation of the Eastern Pyrenees—The fort of San Fernando de Figueras revictualled by General Reille—Attempt upon Rosas—Combined enterprise against Girona—An order to suspend offensive operations arrives from Bayonne—Girona summoned and attacked—The French determine to raise the siege—Narrative of what took place in the Balearic Isles during the insurrection in Catalonia—Disembarking of the garrison of Minorca—The Marquis del Palacio proclaimed Captain-general and President of the Supreme Junta—A detachment of Spanish troops advances from Tarragona to the Llobregat—Skirmishes in the neighbourhood of Barcelona—The Spaniards arrive in sight of Girona, on the eve of the day previous to that on which the French had resolved to retire.—Combat—The besieging equipage is abandoned, and the besiegers retreat to Figueras and Barcelona.

## BOOK VII.

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### THE INVASION OF SPAIN.

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was on the 23d of July that the first news of the disasters of Baylen; the intelligence indistinct, indefinite, and mingled with fables and improbable circumstances. The Spaniards believe it, because credit is easily given to that which is wish for. The dislike of the new King acquired strength from the hope of seeing his reign terminated in the course of a few days. The narrative with which malevolence gratified the multitude, rejected as apocryphal by the French officers. These narratives they opposed the personal reputation of Dupont, and the undeniable ascendancy of the emperor's troops over bands of revolters, how numerous the latter might be.

In the mean while, however, the news continued to spread on ground. The insurrections in La Mancha were more formidable. A convoy of one hundred infantry sick, belonging to the Corps of Observation of the Gironde, was massacred, together with

its escort, as it was quitting the village of Villarta. On the 26th, the King despatched from Madrid General Laval, of Frère's division, with three thousand men and four pieces of cannon, to re-open the communication with Andalusia. The garrison of Madrilejos was reinforced by a battalion. General Musnier's division received orders to be ready to march from Ocaña, for the purpose of supporting Laval. But, between Tembleque and Madrilejos, Laval fell in with Captain Villoutreys and his Spanish escort, and, having learned from him the melancholy certainty of the disaster, he discontinued his movement, and sent to Madrid for further instructions.

The King immediately assembled a council of war, consisting of general officers. Marshal Moncey, who, on the first suspicion of the misfortune at Baylen, had implored the King to allow him to hasten thither with his corps, now advised that Bessières ~~should~~ be recalled, and that the whole of the troops united, should risk a battle near Madrid. Belliard, the superior officer of the General Staff, whose opinion had great weight, from the correctness of his views, and his long military experience, voted for concentrating the troops on Saragossa, which was supposed to be taken, or on the point of being so, and committing to the army of Bessières the defence of the Upper Ebro. Foreseeing to what an extent the conflagration was about to spread, and unable to discover any remedy except in the powerful resolves of the Emperor, the Duke of Rovigo

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proposed to proceed by the Bayonne high-road to meet the reinforcements, and, should circumstances require it, to halt by the way, and take up a position. Though, since the King's arrival, the Duke of Rovigo had ceased to hold the command-in-chief, he still preserved a directing hand over the operations. His plan was adopted by the Council. A retreat was decided upon : the forts were disarmed, and the sick were forwarded to Bayonne. General Musnier was ordered to collect at Madrid the troops which were at Ocaña, Tembleque, and Madrilejos. The garrison of Segovia was directed to wait for the army at Buitrago. Bessières was instructed to establish himself at Mayorga, till the King had informed him of his final intentions, and to occupy Zamora, if that place was in a sufficiently defensible state to allow of a garrison holding out for some time. Orders were despatched to General Verdier, to raise the siege of Sarragossa, or to evacuate the city in case it were already taken ; to send to Pampluna the besieging artillery, the sick, and a garrison of two thousand effective soldiers ; and, with the rest of his troops, to move on Logroño, by the way of Tudela. In the instructions which were given to each, it was stated to be the intention of his Catholic Majesty to concentrate his means, for the purpose of fighting a decisive battle with the enemy.

Joseph united in himself the double character of King and of General-in-chief. For the leader of the French armies to abandon Madrid, was a simple



operation, and one of those which are naturally caused by the chances of war: for the King of Spain to fly from his capital, a week after his entrance into it, and only two days after the colours had been hoisted in his royal name, might almost be said to be a renunciation of the crown. The spirit of opposition was triumphant. The fidelity of partisans was shaken. Joseph appreciated the delicate situation of the public men and the grandees of his court. He left them at liberty to do that which each of them might judge most suitable to his interests, or most in unison with the ideas which he affixed to the words *duty* and *country*.

Happy, in calamitous times, are the individuals whom the mediocrity of their station exempts from those special obligations which may divide one citizen from the other citizens, and dispose of his existence! Among the Spaniards by whom the throne of Joseph was surrounded, all belonging to the first rank of society, either by birth or by the career which they had run, there was not one, perhaps, who desired a violent revolution, or formed any wish but for the happiness of the country. All, however, did not form the same judgment with respect to the future. Some, such as Azanza, O'Farril, Urquijo, Campo d'Alange, and all those who had taken the largest share in forming the Constitution of Bayonne, thought that the battle of Baylen could do very little indeed towards shaking the colossus of France. Their opinion acquired additional strength from the sanctity

of the oaths which, only a few days before, they had voluntarily taken. Convinced that the principles of morality could not fluctuate with the chances of war, they declared to Joseph that they would follow him every where. Others, and among them were reckoned the most trusty servants of Ferdinand, such as Don Pedro Cevallos, the Duke of Infantado, and the Duke del Parque, took the resolution of staying at Madrid, and rejoining the national armies. When they linked their existence with that of the new Prince, it was in the hope of bringing about, for him, and by him, the welfare of the country. The nation rejected a welfare so procured. Its signal unanimity left not a doubt upon the subject. The capitulation of Baylen revealed to them the secret of the popular strength, which is almost always unknown to aristocrats and men in power. With the aid of England, it seemed to them to be possible to resist France. Besides, what had success to do with the question? The cause of the Spaniards was just and sacred; perjury to Kings, who are mere temporary possessors of thrones, is a virtue, when fidelity is preserved to the country, which is unchanging.

The retreat was begun on the 31st of July. Joseph opened the march, with the troops of the Imperial Guard, and the greatest part of the cavalry. Marshal Moncey set off the next day, and formed the rear guard, with the Corps of Observation of the Coasts of the Ocean. The army took the route of Buitrago, Somosierra, and Aranda del Douro. On

the 9th of August, Joseph arrived at Burgos, where he effected his junction with the Corps of Observation of the Eastern Pyrenees. At Puente de Orbijs, Marshal Bessières received the King's order. He made no attempt to throw a garrison into Zamora, because it would have been sacrificed, and would have been of no use in keeping up the communications with the army of Portugal. He fell back on Burgos, by Valencia de Don Juan, Villalos and Palencia, without halting in the plains of Mayorga, where his army would have been unsupported and insulated. The King proceeded to Miranda with the troops which he brought from Madrid. The corps of Marshal Bessières slowly took up a position in column, from Burgos to Briviesca, occupying the Castle of Burgos with two hundred men, and keeping its cavalry together, at Gamonal, a league in the rear.

The French were not followed by the hostile armies in their retreat. Though the difficulty of collecting provisions in time for an unexpected march often produced scenes of disorder, there was no exasperation, nor any murders. Between Madrid and Burgos, the alcaides even conveyed in carriages to the French camp, the soldiers who had fallen ill on the high road.

But while all appeared peaceable on the territory from which the French were retiring, disturbances began to break out on that which they were proceeding to occupy. In Navarre, some insurgents

carried off bullets from the foundry of Orbaiceta, within musket-shot of the French frontier. Others, under the direction of a native of the country, named Leguaguerri, formed, in the neighbourhood of Larraga and Lerin, assemblages of sufficient strength to compel Brigadier-general d'Agout, the commandant of Pampeluna, to send a moveable column against them. At Tolosa, on the very line of communication travelled by the soldiers in coming and going, there was the first appearance of an insurrection, which was quieted by the prudence of the civil authorities, acting in conjunction with the military force. Bilbao, a populous and commercial town in the midst of the mountains, inhabited by a high-spirited people, fond of independence, and continually corresponding with the insurgents of Santander and with the English cruisers, threw off its obedience to Joseph, established a Junta, armed its citizens, and sent to solicit assistance from John Hunter, the English consul in the Asturias. Without losing a moment, he despatched, from Gijon, Major Roche, with a frigate and a brig, on board of which were twelve field-pieces and the needful ammunition, five thousand muskets, other arms, and four millions of reals. But this succour did not reach them in time. Before he arrived on the Ebro the King had been informed of the insurrection of Bilbao. There were then at Vittoria three old regiments, the forty-third and fifty-first of infantry, the twenty-sixth of horse-chasseurs, and a battery of



four cannon, recently from France. General Merlin, a French officer in the service of Joseph, marched at the head of these against the insurgents. Bilbao, being built in a narrow and deep valley, is not capable of being defended. The insurgents sallied forth to a distance of half a league from their town, to meet the French. On the 16th they were overthrown and dispersed; a considerable number, among whom were two of their leaders, were killed. Major Roche then presented himself at Urdiales; but, terrified by the approach of the French, the inhabitants intreated him not to put them in jeopardy by disembarking in their town his dangerous presents. To complete the restoration of peace in the country, the King sent thither, as extraordinary commissioner, his minister of the marine department, who was the most eminent and the most esteemed man of Bilbao. Massaredo convoked the deputies of the hundred and thirteen districts, which have a right to vote in the General Assembly of the lordship of Biscay, and made them swear affection, fidelity, and obedience to King Joseph Napoleon. Force alone could guarantee the observance of oaths extorted by force.

Its right being thus rendered secure, the French army extended itself by its left, as far as Logroño, in order to rally to it the troops employed in the siege of Sarragossa. We left the latter carrying by assault, on the 4th of August, a part of the city. On the following day intelligence was received, that the

remains of the column which had been beaten at Osera, on the 30th of July, by General Habert, had been reinforced by several detachments of soldiers from Catalonia, and by a multitude of armed peasants from Huesca, and that the whole had taken up a position at Villa Mayor. Lefebvre-Desnouettes proceeded to that quarter, and drove back, to the left bank of the Gallejo, such of the enemy's forces as had passed that river. But, having with him only two weak battalions, the regiment of Polish lancers, and no artillery, he did not think himself strong enough to attack the position of Villa Mayor; and he therefore summoned other troops and cannon to his aid. This reinforcement was marching, on the 6th, to join him, when the King of Spain's order to raise the siege of Sarragossa, arrived in the camp.

Verdier, who had been wounded in the assault, had given up the active command to Lefebvre; but the two generals continued to direct the operations, in concert with Lacoste, colonel of engineers, who was one of the Emperor's aids-de-camp. They made the troops repass the Ebro, retaining nothing on the left bank but the bridge-head. It was impossible to think of removing in a few days, and without the means of conveyance, from Sarragossa to Pampeluna, a besieging equipage which it had required a month's time, and the employment of all the resources of Navarre, to forward from Pampeluna to Sarragossa. It was therefore resolved that

the equipage should be destroyed. This resolution, and the raising of the siege, were delayed in an unexpected manner.

Several officers of the Prince of Neufchatel's staff were scattered in Spain, to keep the Major-general informed of what was going on, to accelerate and harmonize the execution of the general orders, and, in case of necessity, to decide disputed points. This special destination gave them, in the eyes of the military leaders, a degree of momentary importance, much greater than was indicated by their rank in the army. Monthion, one of these officers, recently raised to be a Brigadier-general, was in command at Vittoria; the raising of the siege of Sarragossa, hastily carried into effect, and even before the King had arrived on the Ebro, seemed to him to be highly prejudicial to the interests of the army. He wrote to General Verdier to say, that, according to the news from Madrid, General Belliard, the chief of the staff, would issue fresh instructions; that, in the mean while, those already received ought to be considered as annulled, and the operations of the siege be vigorously pushed forward.

In consequence of this kind of counter-order, every thing remained stationary before Sarragossa; but good care was taken not to shed blood merely for the purpose of conquering half-burnt ruins, encumbered with dead, which it would, probably, be necessary to abandon in the course of a few days. There remained in the city only a sufficient number of troops



to defend the houses which were occupied. The musketry-firing was, however, still kept up from the loop-holes which had been pierced in the roofs and walls. Nor did the cannon of the batteries discontinue their fire. The walls of the place were demolished, and, in the rear, fortified lines were constructed to contain the troops, and trenches of communication with the troops who were still stationed in the city. The transition from a decided offensive to an almost absolute defensive, was not without danger. For a week the victory gained by the Spanish army in Andalusia had been known to the besiegers. Their communication with the country was entirely free on the left bank of the Ebro. The hope of a prompt deliverance still farther increased that energy, of which, when left to their own resources, they had given such splendid proofs.

The Arragonese troops showed themselves on the right bank of the Ebro on the 8th, as if they designed to attack the bridge-head. The French despatched their sick and wounded to Pampeluna, under a strong escort, a part of which was intended to form the garrison of that place, and the rest to secure the important point of Tudela from falling into the power of two corps of insurgents. Intelligence had been received that those corps were assembling in force, the one in the vicinity of Calatayud, the other on the opposite bank of the river, near Tauste.



In consequence of his wound, General Verdier followed the column of the sick, and resigned the command to Lefebvre-Desnouettes.

On the 13th, definitive orders arrived from the head-quarters at Burgos, to raise the siege, and take a position at Milagro, at the confluence of the rivers Ebro and Alagon. All the apparatus of the besieging artillery was hastily destroyed, and the cannon were thrown into the water. The army quitted Sarragossa on the 14th, carrying with it a train of field artillery of twenty-four pieces, several of which had been taken from the enemy : it reached Tudela in three days. On the morrow after its arrival in that city, some Spanish troops were seen on the road by which it had marched. These constituted the advanced-guard of the Valencian and Murcian troops, under the orders of Generals Saint Marc and Lamas, which, strengthened by the corps of Baron de Versaye, formed an effective force of sixteen thousand men, of whom between five and six thousand were veteran soldiers. This army, of the existence of which General Lefebvre-Desnouettes had had no knowledge, entered Sarragossa twenty-four hours after the departure of the French ; but it only passed through that city. A squadron of cavalry, which preceded it, was charged at Fontelas, near Tudela, by the Polish lancers, who drove it back on the main body, and took from it a considerable number of prisoners. The Spaniards quitted the high road, and coasted along the heights towards

Ablitas and Malon, as if moving on Tarazona. It was supposed that they marched by their left, in order to effect a junction with other corps.

The French evacuated Tudela on the 20th, and broke down an arch of the bridge. Lefebvre-Desnouettes established his head-quarters, and the major part of his troops, at Milagro. General Habert was posted, with his brigade and six pieces of cannon, at Caparrosa, to cover the high road to Pampeluna. The Portuguese Lieutenant-general Freyre, was stationed in an intermediary post at Villa Franca, with those Portuguese troops who had not yet deserted. In this position, the corps of Sarragossa formed the left of the French army of the Ebro. It was placed under the command of Marshal Moncey, by King Joseph.

The army united on the Ebro consisted of nearly fifty thousand foot and horse; it was wearied, not by the toils and dangers of war, but by the disappointment arising from abortive expeditions. There was no longer in it any confidence, except in the small army of Rio Seco. The sick, the soldiers, the officers, and even the generals, were all anxious to recross the Pyrenees. Provisions were not wanting; for the country on the right bank of the Ebro, though a country of lofty mountains, is not absolutely devoid of resources, and the troops arrived in it subsequently to the harvest. They were subsisted, also, on the enormous stores which had been accumulated during a whole year. The pause from active war-

fare, which now took place, gave time to season the troops and to remove the anomalies which existed in their organization.

Besides the fifty thousand men whom Joseph had led back to the Ebro, there were in the Peninsula two French armies, acting at two almost diametrically opposite extremities, in Catalonia and in Portugal. Though their operations were not immediately connected with the movements of the Armies of the North, the Centre, and the South, they were affected by the results of them.

We shall, in the first place, touch upon that which concerns Catalonia. We left Duhesme, in the month of February, established in that principality, with a corps of thirteen thousand French and Italians, which was then denominated the Army of Observation of the Eastern Pyrenees. We have seen it make itself master, by stratagem, of the fortresses of Barcelona and of Figueras. The Captain-general, Ezpeleta, gave himself the trouble of tranquillizing by a proclamation, those who had been terrified by the rough measures of the allies. He also advanced, from the treasury chests of the principality, the sums required for the payment of the French troops; and the loan was faithfully repaid. A slight discussion took place between him and the French General, who required that extraordinary magazines should be formed in the citadel and the fort of Mont Joui. It terminated to the satisfaction of the latter. All the orders which



were sent from Madrid were conciliatory and pacific. It was at the period when Napoleon was expected every moment, and allowed Spain to fluctuate between fears which were but too well justified, and hopes which sprang from the good faith of the national character.

Catalonia is less a province of Spain, than a small state, under the sceptre of the Catholic monarchs. It has different manners, a different language, a different social organization, from Castile. It differs totally even from Arragon, though, after it ceased to be independent, it was long subject to that kingdom. In no other part of the Peninsula is there so ardent a longing for liberty and independence. Nowhere do fathers transmit to their children a deeper hatred of their neighbours, the French. They reproach them with having, in the seventeenth century, led them into perpetual revolts against the Kings of Spain, and with having afterwards abandoned them to the resentment of an insulted master. They cannot forgive them for having, at the commencement of the eighteenth century, imposed on them the King, who humbled their pride, and destroyed their privileges. The war of the Revolution was carried on in Rousillon and Catalonia with an animosity and barbarity which were not witnessed on the frontiers of Navarre and Biscay. The peace produced no reconciliation. Catalonia, by its extensive sea-coast and its populous and commercial metropolis, is connected in interest with England. War against



France, on the contrary, enlivens its ports, and pours into it an abundance of capital. It is impoverished by an alliance which dries up the sources and the outlets of its industry. The continental system was hateful to it.

Thus, wounded interest, and the general discontent excited by the dishonest seizure of the fortresses, rendered the insurrection more threatening than in the rest of Spain. If Madrid had enthusiastically received the new King, it is possible that the natural jealousy of the Catalons against the Castilians would have been awakened. At least, it may be affirmed, that England, with her establishments in the islands of the Mediterranean, would not have wanted means to make Catalonia rise, and to establish there a focus of insurrection against the power of France.

But, on the 2nd of May, Madrid was the first to sound the alarm-bell; and for this once Catalonia and Castile mutually forgot their provincial animosities in the horror inspired by foreign oppression. The regiment of Estremadura, which was a part of the garrison of Barcelona, received from the Supreme Junta of Government, then in subservience to the Granduke of Berg, an order to proceed to Lerida. The inhabitants of that city had already caught the impulse from Arragon, which is close at hand to them. Distrustful of a movement which would put them at the mercy of hired troops, and of those who could dispose of them, they declared, that they would not admit any soldiers, and that they would themselves guard their city. The regiment of Estre-

madura went no farther than Tarrega. There was formed at Lerida a provincial Junta, which called itself the Supreme Junta of Catalonia, and opened a correspondence with the Juntas of Sarragossa and Valencia. At the same time, the people of Manresa tore in pieces and burnt the proclamations of Murat, and the fraudulent conventions of Bayonne.

The French had as yet shown themselves only on the high road from Perpignan to Barcelona. A weak battalion was in garrison at San Fernando de Figueras. The remainder of the army was cantoned along the coast, from Mataro to the Llobregat, but the major part of it was in Barcelona; for the great point which Duhesme had to attend to, was, the keeping in awe a city containing a hundred and thirty-five thousand inhabitants, and a garrison of nearly four thousand men. This garrison consisted of a regiment of artillery, the Spanish and Walloon guards, and the Bourbon regiment of cuirassiers. The soldiers deserted, in the open day, through the gates, and at night they let themselves down into the ditch by ropes. Far from the French military authorities preventing this desertion, they secretly encouraged it. General Duhesme even allowed a battalion of the Spanish guards to march out of the city, for the purpose of going to Villa Franca. The mischief which these individuals could do in the field, was not to be compared with that which might be dreaded from them while in the city, in case this formidable organised force, composed of



the best troops, should put itself at the head of an irritated population, and direct its efforts.

The corps of the Eastern Pyrenees soon had its part to play, in the execution of the plan which had been formed for taking possession of the Peninsula; less fear was felt of weakening it, because the occupation of Barcelona was supposed to render the French secure of Catalonia. The Emperor, accordingly, sent General Duhesme an order to march four thousand men on Sarragossa, and as many on Valencia. The latter, after Valencia was entered, were to push forward to Carthagená; the others, on their way, were to seize upon Lerida. The expedition to Sarragossa was given to General Schwartz, who had under his command the three battalions of the second Swiss regiment, some Italian and Neapolitan battalions, a squadron of horse, and four pieces of cannon. Chabran had the other mission, with the seventh and sixteenth of the line, General Bessieres's brigade of cavalry, and eight pieces of artillery. To the instructions of Schwartz an article was added by Duhesme, directing him to send a detachment for the purpose of punishing, by a contribution and threats, the insurrection of Manresa, of destroying the powder mills, after having sent to Barcelona the manufactured powder, and also of chastising Lerida; in case of his capturing that city he was to bring away the Swiss, and, instead of them, to leave in the castle five hundred men, from his own column. But, against Lerida he was to make only a transient ef-

fort ; Sarragossa was the principal object of his march. As to Chabran, he was also to put a garrison into Tarragona, and to bring off, either by persuasion or by force, the Swiss regiment of Wimpfen ; and on his arrival at Castellon de la Plana, he was to receive orders from Marshal Moncey.

The two columns set out on the 2nd of June, from Barcelona. Schwartz passed the 5th at Martorell, being stopped by a violent rain, and likewise waiting for the rest of his corps to join him. During this delay, the news of his march was spread through the mountains ; Manresa trembled at the imprudence which it had committed in rising ; Igualada was equally terrified, as being the first town on the high road. The alarm bell was rung in the two towns, and the *Somatènes* soon flocked from all quarters.

*Somatènes* is the name which, from time immemorial, has been given in Catalonia to the armed population ; if circumstances require the service of only a small number of *Somatènes*, it is their own town or village which chooses, arms, and pays them, and names the individual among them by whom the rest are to be commanded. If the danger of the country summons every body to arms, then the field is taken by all the males, from the age of sixteen to sixty ; and, as there are never muskets enough for such an immense multitude, one snatches up an old sword, another a pike, and the third transforms a farming implement into a warlike weapon. So it



happened at Manresa. There was no deficiency of powder, but of balls; this want, however, was supplied. The son of a petty shopkeeper of Manresa, Francisco Riera, surnamed, (from his father keeping a shop,) *el fil de la botigueta*, the same who had burnt the French proclamations, put himself at the head of a hundred of the most ardent and best armed, and, after having received the sacrament, marched against the enemy. Two or three hundred men from Igualada hurried to join them, preceded by an enormous crucifix, which was borne by a capuchin friar. The flame spread through the neighbouring districts of Calaf, San Pedro, Sellent, Cervera, Cardona, and Solsona. The rendezvous of the patriots was near the village of Bruch, not far from the spot where the Manresa road joins the royal road to Lerida. They neither calculated their own numbers, nor the strength of their enemies, but pressed onward with an intrepidity which was the offspring of confidence and ignorance.

Schwartz, who set out from Martorell on the 6th, was marching in an intersected, woody, and mountainous country, with as little precaution as if he had been traversing a plain in a friendly country. His column had scarcely passed Bruch, when it was assailed by a shower of balls, from among the trees and the nooks of the rocks, without a single person who fired being visible. Schwartz formed his column in mass, detached his sharp-shooters, and proceeded on his way; the Somatènes still keeping up

their fire, retired, some towards Igualada, the other by the Manresa road ; the advanced-guard of Schwartz reached Casa Masana, and paused there ; the body of the column halted above the houses of Bruch, and the soldiers ate their soup.

“ The enemy halts ; then we are the strongest.” This reasoning, natural in men engaged as the Spaniards were, passed from mouth to mouth ; those who had retreated, now retraced their footsteps ; other troops of Somatènes, which had not fought, joined their comrades ; the attack was recommenced. Among the most daring, as they were also the most numerous, were those of San Pedro, who thought themselves more formidable, because they had a drummer at their head. This drummer, animating the irresolute by the beat of his drum, and pointing out the direction in which they were to move through the bushes and underwood, acted precisely the part which, in the infancy of war, was performed by a General-in-chief. A tolerably sharp fire was kept up between the peasants and the vanguard of the French. Schwartz had been a Colonel of cavalry, and, though old in the service, he was young in this kind of warfare ; he calculated with alarm the difficulties which he should have to surmount, the troops with which he should have to encounter, on a march of seventy-seven leagues through mountainous districts, containing several strong places, and an exasperated and still increasing population. He conceived that it was impossible for him to execute the orders which

he had received, and he therefore resolved upon returning to Barcelona.

The retreat was effected in good order, under the fire of a multitude of Somatènes, who, if they did no great harm to the French, sustained still less from them. The retiring troops had to pass through the town of Esparaguera, which consists of a single street, a quarter of a league in length. On learning that the enemy was coming back, the inhabitants rang the alarm-bell, blocked up the street with felled trees and furniture, and prepared to do all the mischief in their power to the French. The latter arrived at the close of the day, and imprudently ran into the snare which was laid for them. Then were showered down upon them, from the roofs and upper stories, blocks of stone, logs of wood, and cauldrons of boiling water. General Schwartz hastily withdrew his men, led them to the right and left of the town, and, pressing his march in the night, reached Martorell, on the bank of the Llobregat.

On the next day, the 8th, the troops re-entered Barcelona. Duhesme, an exceedingly resolute general, was not a man to overrate the strength of the Somatènes; but nothing less than the duty of manifesting a blind obedience could have prevailed on him to part with more than half his force in difficult circumstances, and to reduce it to six thousand men when he had to keep down Catalonia. He approved completely of Chabran's conduct; and,

without troubling himself about the gap which the want of his troops would make in the plan of operations, he sent orders to Chabran to act as Schwartz had done, and despatched a detachment to meet and assist him.

General Chabran had reached Tarragona, without encountering any enemies, either on his road or in that city. The order to return was delivered to him on the 9th, and he immediately began his march. But the electric spark, transmitted from Manresa and Bruch, had lighted up a conflagration in several populous districts, through which the French had to pass. Encouraged by the presence of three hundred of Wimpfen's Swiss, who were on their way to rejoin their regiment at Tarragona, the inhabitants of Vendrell and Arbos flew to arms. The populace of Villa Franca and the peasants of the neighbourhood followed their example. Don Juan de Tuda, the governor of the place, a respectable old man, having endeavoured to calm their fury, they massacred him. Two officers of the battalion of the Spanish guards, who were in garrison in the town, shared the same fate. The battalion itself, being invested in its barracks by the people, because it would not take part in the insurrection, contrived to escape under the pretext of intending to take up a position on the outside of the town, and retired to Tarragona, by keeping along the sea-coast.

When the French arrived at Vendrell, some bands



of Somatènes, who strove to defend that city, were sabred and driven back on Arbos. The principal assemblage was there, and some iron cannon, of heavy caliber, were mounted. The position was good; but, as the country was generally open, the French were able to form in fighting order. The light troops carried the position at the first onset. Brigadier-General Bessieres traversed the village at the head of a regiment of cuirassiers, and cut down all that came in his way. Arbos was pillaged and reduced to ashes, according to the usages of war. General Chabran spared Villa Franca, because the principal inhabitants had taken no share in the sedition, and it was of consequence to separate the interest of the proprietors and peaceable individuals from those of the men whom it suited the holders of authority to describe as a gang of robbers. At Vallirana, on the 11th, the expeditionary corps fell in with the detachments which had been sent from Barcelona to meet it, and the whole repassed the Llobregat without being disturbed. On the 13th, it was sent to Martorell and Esparaguera, to chastise the insurgents who had pursued the column of General Schwartz; but no resistance was met with. The Catalans had prepared again to defend the pass of Bruch;\* and, as Chabran did not attempt to

\* The inhabitants caused the following inscription to be cut on a stone:—*Victores Marengo, Austerlitz, et Jena, hic victi fuerunt.—Diebus vi. et xiv. Junii anno 1808.*

To call the two thousand men of General Schwartz the vic-

force it, they concluded that this defile was the pillars of Hercules to the French army.

More momentous affairs called elsewhere for the activity of Duhesme, and it was not to let his troops rest that he gave up occupying the important fortress of Tarragona. On hearing of the combat at Bruch, the whole population rose as Somatènes, without waiting for orders from superiors. In each town was established a junta of government. In Figueras, at the very gates of France, Don Juan Claros, a half-pay adjutant-major, who had belonged to the light battalion of Girona, stirred up the citizens and the peasants against the French garrison; and, with the help of some detachments from Rosas, drove it into the fort, where he kept it blockaded, hoping that it must speedily surrender for want of provisions. Girona, a large fortress on the Ter, always looked upon as one of the keys of Catalonia, put itself in a state of defence. On his way to Barcelona, Duhesme had passed through it, but left no garrison, because the Emperor had not ordered him to do so; he had, however, the imprudence to leave there the regiment of Utonia, consisting of three hundred and eighty men.

Catalonia, with all its strong places, all its forts, each of which had retained a nucleus of officers and soldiers of the line; with its mountains peopled with

tors of Marengo, was an enormous abuse of that figure of rhetoric which takes a part for the whole.

smugglers; with the portion still left of the brave men who carried on war against the French from 1793 to 1795; Catalonia might attempt more, and make head longer than any other part of Spain, against a regular army. But the supreme Junta of Lerida undertook to direct all partial efforts towards a more concentrated purpose, and to turn to account the enthusiastic patriotism of a population of eight hundred thousand inhabitants. It issued pressing orders to arm the fortresses and forts; it equipped flotillas in its ports; it opened an active correspondence with the Balearic isles, and with the neighbouring kingdoms of Arragon and Valencia, which, united with Catalonia, constitute the Coronilla. But, wisely relying rather on itself than on its neighbours, it decreed the raising a provincial army of eighty thousand men, half of which was to take the field, the other half to be a reserve. The active army was organized into forty battalions of Miquelets, *tercios de Miquelets*. The battalions bore the names of the towns. Each had ten companies of one hundred men. The daily allowance of the Miquelets was twenty pence (*pecetta*) and bread. The officers were not so well paid as those of the line. The uniform of this force was a short jacket and a round hat and feather, the national dress of the Catalans. This organization differed from that which, at the same period, was generally adopted in the rest of Spain. This was a reason for the Catalans to cling more closely to it. No consideration could have in-

duced them to enlist in the Castilian regiments. They were flattered by the name of Miquelets, which their fathers had borne, and which had been revived in the wars of the Revolution. Besides, the equivocal conduct of the troops of the line, hesitating between positive duties and the interests of their country, made them objects of dislike and suspicion.

The effect of this insurrection was, to put into a state of defence all the places which were not occupied by the French, and to break the communication permanently. Girona, already famous for the part which it had played in the Catalonian wars, contains a population of fourteen thousand persons. Standing at the confluence of the Ter and the Oña, the latter river divides it into two parts; the largest of these, which, in consequence, is denominated the city, is built on the declivity of a mountain, that looks down on the eastern side. The other part is in the plain, and is called the Mercadal. The city has an old wall with towers, but without platform, and two bastions, the one where the Oña enters, the other where it quits the place. The Mercadal has five bastions and a half moon; but the whole fortress wants ditches and a covered way. Its greatest strength lies in a system of detached forts, that cover the mountain on the east, and communicate with the fortress. The castle of Mont Joui, on a mountain to the north, is three hundred fathoms in compass, and is a bastioned square, with ditch, covered way, and two half moons. The




principal defect of all these forts is, that they are on too confined a scale, and have not room enough for the garrisons.

Duhesme felt the necessity of re-opening the communications with France, before the forces of the enemy were organized. He undertook this task in person, with seven battalions, five squadrons, and eight pieces of artillery. Two roads lead from Barcelona to Girona; the one, ascending the valley of Besos, enters the country immediately, and passes at the foot of the fortress of Hostalrich; the other follows the coast for a distance of ten leagues; it is the best of the two, and was chosen by Duhesme. A French privateer, which was at Barcelona, covered the right flank of the French, by sailing in a line with it. The troops set out from Barcelona on the 17th, and, on the same day, they fell in with nine thousand Somatènes, on the heights of Mongat, who seemed desirous of opposing their progress. A lieutenant of the navy, Don Francisco Barcelo, nephew of the admiral of that name who twice bombarded Algiers, was at the head of this assemblage. He mounted cannon in the castle of Mongat. The French general put the Somatènes to flight, and captured their cannon. Pursuing his march, he carried Mataro by the bayonet; a city containing twenty thousand inhabitants, which had ventured to barricade its gates, and defend itself with artillery. On the 20th, the vanguard took post on the heights of Palau de Sacosta, facing the walls of Girona.

Some cannon-shot, which were fired from the city, announced that the invaders would not be pacifically received.

Every thing was, in fact, prepared for a vigorous resistance. The ramparts were lined with a numerous artillery, served by cannoneers who had escaped from Barcelona, and by sailors from the villages on the coast. The armed population seconded the efforts of the regiments of Utonia. The priests, the monks, the women, encouraged the soldiers to make a brave defence. General Duhesme deployed his troops. Their right passed the Oña, and successively threatened the del Carmen gate and the fort of the Capuchins. The left extended to Salt, where it was fired on by the Somatènes, who were ambushed on the other side of the Ter. It established two batteries, which did little injury to the city, and could not be supported against the artillery of the place. At night, the fire from the fortress was discontinued ; but, between nine and ten o'clock, a column of French troops, moving in the profoundest silence, approached the bastion of Santa Clara, which lies to the south ; the soldiers fixed their scaling ladders. The bravest of the assailants reached the summit of the rampart ; but they had been discovered, and a detachment from the Utonia regiment rushed into the bastion, and with their bayonets hurled into the ditch all who had ascended. An hour afterwards, another column moved to the foot of the bastion of San Pedro, at



the opposite extremity of the town; a fire was instantly opened upon it in front, from the cannon of the city and from the tower of San Juan, a detached work. The attacks of the French failed everywhere.

Duhesme was too able a General to persist in trying to carry a fortress with field-pieces. Not having succeeded in making himself master of Girona by a sudden onset, he returned to Barcelona, to collect more formidable means. The Catalans had availed themselves of his absence, to form a strong cordon on the Llobregat. That river descends from the Pyrenees, divides the principality into two nearly equal parts, and falls into the sea at a distance of two leagues to the south-west of Barcelona; from Montserrat to its mouth it ceases to be fordable whenever the rains fall, or the snows melt in the mountains. A scrivener of Lerida, Don Juan Bajet, a zealous and popular man, whom the Junta of Lerida had appointed Colonel of the *tercios* of that city, made a rapid march to the position of Bruch, with his battalion, which had been raised but a few days. The French having withdrawn, he descended to Martorell. There, supplying by patriotism his deficiency of knowledge, and calling to his assistance the zeal of three excellent patriots, Don Jose Mata, a citizen of Capelladas, Don Manuel Pometta, a half-pay officer, and Don Juan Soso, a sergeant of artillery, he was the first who organized the line of defence of the Llobregat. Entrenchments were thrown up. The principal passes were provided

with heavy artillery, drawn from the fortresses and the coast batteries; and the Spaniards had with them two pieces of horse-artillery, fit for service. The fine stone bridge of Molins del Rey, on the high road to Tarragona, was barricaded.

The positions of the Llobregat were reconnoitred in the course of the 29th. On the 30th, General Lecchi, at the head of two thousand Italians, presented himself before Molins del Rey. While he drew the attention of the Catalans to this point, Generals Goulas and Bessieres, the one with the French infantry, the other with the cavalry, forded the river near San Boy, overthrew the Somatènes; and, rapidly ascending the right bank, cleared it of enemies, assisted Lecchi to effect his passage, and pursued the Spaniards beyond Martorell, after having taken from them all their artillery.

While this expedition was acting on the Llobregat, Chabran set out from Mataro with a column of three thousand men, to collect provisions in the valleys. Near Granollers he had a skirmish with the Miñones, or patriots of Vich, commanded by Don Francisco Milans del Borch, Lieutenant in the Spanish Guards, which gave him the rank of Lieutenant-colonel in the army. He was the first superior officer of the regulars who put himself at the head of the Somatènes. Whenever the smallest French detachment could come in contact with these assembled peasants, the latter were immediately put to flight; but no sooner did the victor retire, than they again hung



upon his rear and flanks ; and as they followed him up with a fire of musketry to the place of his destination, they always, in the eyes of their fellow-countrymen, and in their own, had the appearance of being the conquerors.

In the meanwhile, the only intelligence which arrived in France from Catalonia, was that which was brought from Barcelona, by some bark that had escaped from that port at its own risk. Brigadier-general Ritai, who commanded in the department of the Eastern Pyrenees, set out from Perpignan with a flying column of seven hundred men, composed of companies of the reserve and of Portuguese detachments ; and, in the course of the month of June, explored the high valleys of Gavarnie and Arajonet, and pushed as far as la Junquera, the first town in Catalonia. From thence he transmitted an account of the blockade of Figuierras, and the failure of the attempt on Girona. The confirmation of this news was soon after received, by the way of Bayonne, from General Duhesme himself. He strongly urged the paying attention to Figuierras, that that fort might not be compelled to surrender from the want of provisions. He promised, also, to march a column against Girona, as soon as another should appear with succours on the side of Figuierras.

Though, at this moment, the affairs of Catalonia were not equally important with the military operations of the north-west, the centre, and the south of Spain, yet the Emperor was aware that, in such

a war, no point could be neglected with impunity. He ordered the General-of-division Reille, who was his aid-de-camp, after having long been so to Massena, to revictual Figueras, and to take Rosas. That General was to have under him a part of Ritai's column, the hundred and thirteenth regiment, which was a new corps, formed from the Tuscan conscription, some marching detachments of foot and horse from the corps of the Eastern Pyrenees, and a train of six pieces of artillery. Other departmental companies, which had not yet been in active service, were soon to arrive, together with a battalion of the legions of reserve expected from Grenoble, the Valaisan battalion from Port Maurice, and all that could be drawn from the depôts on the Alpine frontier, and even in Piedmont ; so that, before the middle of July, this corps might amount to eight thousand effective men. With this force, Reille was to operate on Girona. The three departments of the Eastern Pyrenees, the Arriege and the Upper Garonne, which border on Catalonia, were put under his command. He was authorised to call out their national guard. He was assured, too, that almost as soon as he had taken the field, he would be supported by a division of reserve of Italians and Neapolitans, which had already left the banks of the Po, and would be embarked on the Rhone, at Valence in Dauphiny, and conveyed post from Avignon to Perpignan. The administration gave orders to provision, arm, and put in a state of defence, the long-



neglected places of this frontier, Mont Louis, Fort les Bains, Fort de la Garde, Bellegarde, and Villefranche. All the ovens of the eleventh military division, were likewise set to work, to provide a large quantity of biscuit, which was to be stored in the Catalanian fortresses.

Reille arrived at Perpignan on the 3rd of July; and, on the following day, his head-quarters were at Bellegarde. On the 5th, he proceeded to Figueras. With good troops this would have been merely a military promenade. The national guards were left in France, because, had they been taken over the frontier, they would have deserted. The column was composed of two battalions of the hundred and thirteenth, some departmental companies, a hundred and fifty Swiss, and two pieces of cannon. Taken individually, the Tuscan conscripts were far inferior to the Miquelets; and, looking at them as a regular force, they were no better than their opponents. Reille marched them in columns through the vines and olives, that they might not run away at the whizzing of the balls, which they now heard for the first time. On reaching the bank of the Muga, he bent towards the left, to avoid the Puente de Molins, which he supposed to be entrenched and strongly guarded, and he passed the river opposite the fort of San Fernando. Notwithstanding the smallness of the danger, and the sight of the fortress which they were going to deliver, the Tuscans were very near taking to their heels, and leaving the cannon in the

middle of the water. In this march, the column lost eight men killed, twelve wounded, and twenty-five prisoners, who fell into the hands of the peasants. It took two pieces of cannon in the town. Fifty mules laden with flour, and twelve oxen, were sent into the fort. The Spaniards had blockaded the place so inefficiently, and the Colonel-commandant of the fort had so well husbanded his provisions, that he had got in the harvest from the fields near his glacis, and had still a week's bread in store. He had bombarded the town, and beaten down two-thirds of the houses ; not a single inhabitant now remained in it.

Figueras being revictualled, and the garrison reinforced, Reille had accomplished the first object of his mission. As soon as he was joined by a part of the troops which he expected, he proceeded to execute the remainder of his task. On the 11th of July, he took the road to Rosas, a fishing town, four leagues from Figueras, fortified on the east by a regular pentagon, forming a citadel, and on the west, by an insulated fort, situated eleven hundred fathoms from the town, on the point of a rock which is washed by the sea. In traversing the fertile plain of the Ampourdan, the French met with no hostile faces. The entire population of Castellon de Ampurias, a small place on their route, went out to meet them. This good reception induced the General to imagine that he should enter the citadel of Rosas without striking a blow ; but, when



he reached it, the drawbridges were up, and though, at the part where the breach was made in 1795, the walls were still in ruins as low as the cordon, though the barracks had not been repaired, and there were in the fort only six cannon mounted on the land front, and merely sixty cannoneers, with three or four hundred of the country Miquelets, the commandant thought himself strong enough not to fear a *coup de main*. He therefore, contrary to the laws of war, retained prisoners the officer and trumpeter who were sent to summon him. To a pacific message he replied by discharges of musketry. The French General was, however, preparing to take up a position, when he was informed that the country, through which he had passed so quietly in the morning, was all up in arms. Don Juan Claves had ordered the alarm-bell to be rung in all quarters, and had collected, on the rear of the march, a mass of between four and five thousand Miquelets and Somatènes. Reille immediately withdrew from before the ramparts of Rosas, retraced his footsteps, broke the ranks of the Catalans, and took from them the only cannon which they had. He bivouacked that night near Castellon de Ampurias, and re-entered Figueras on the 12th, having sustained, from the continual firing to which he was exposed before Rosas and during his retrograde march, a loss of two hundred men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners. A few days after his retreat, English and Spanish vessels anchored in the road of

Rosas, with a reinforcement, and ammunition and provisions for the garrison.

This fruitless attempt, however, did not retard the principal operations. Duhesme, on learning that the blockade of Figueras was raised, had written to Reille, to appoint a junction with him under the walls of Girona, and had desired him to bring, independent of a battering train, a supply of ten-inch bombs, for mortars of that calibre, which were to be sent from Barcelona, and also a quantity of biscuit. As he was the most remote from the point at which they were to unite, he began his march on the 10th of July, with nine battalions of infantry, and three squadrons of cavalry, making together six thousand men, and a train of twenty-two battering cannon, mortars, and howitzers, thirty scaling ladders, and all the necessary apparatus, drawn by the draught mules and horses of the city of Barcelona. The Catalans had filled the road with abattis and other obstructions, and in many places had blown up the rocks to cover it with their fragments. Parties, directed by Don Francisco Milans, and by the two brothers Francisco and Gerondino Besos de Guixols, kept up a musketry fire against the van and rear of that flank of the French which was next the mountains, while on the seaboard, an English frigate, a half galley, and three Catalan feluccas, escorted them with a cannonade. With such obstacles to encounter, their progress was necessarily slow. Beyond Mataro,




Brigadier-general Goulas was detached, with three battalions, to cover the left flank of the march, by blockading, for the moment, the fort of Hostalrich. This detachment rejoined the principal column before Girona, on the 22d. General Duhesme approached as near as he could to the city, and fired several howitzers to give notice of his arrival to the troops which were expected from Figuierras. Colonel Zenardi, at the head of his regiment, the second Neapolitan chasseurs, an Italian battalion and a French one, proceeded to meet General Reille.

The latter did not lose a moment in concurring in that part of the plan of operations which was confided to him. He put a strong garrison into San Fernando de Figuierras, and secured the defence of that point of departure, which is so essential when war is carried on in Catalonia. At Perpignan, and at Figuierras, convoys of artillery were formed, composed of whatever was wanting in the besieging equipage of General Duhesme. These convoys were escorted by the battalions of reinforcements which were sent to General Reille; the escort was highly necessary, for the smugglers of the upper valley of Moya, the Miquelets of 1795, and the mountain Somatènes, were incessantly prowling round La Junquera, and did not suffer a man, a detachment, or even a battalion, to pass, without falling upon it. The comers from France could know when they set their feet on Spanish ground, by the musket-shots with which they were instantly welcomed. The

young Prince of Salm Kirbourg, who was one of the orderly officers of the Emperor, and several *aids-de-camp*, the bearers of despatches, were taken in this manner, as soon as hostilities commenced.

On the 23d, Reille took the road to Girona. His expeditionary corps, consisting of five thousand infantry (nine battalions) and four hundred horse, forded the Fluvia, set fire to the village of Bascara; whence the column had been fired upon, and, on the morning of the 24th, arrived at Pont Mayor, near Girona, where it effected its junction with the corps of Duhesme.

The first condition required for taking such a place was, to cut it off from all external intercourse; to do which, a much larger force was necessary than the French could employ against it. It was, therefore, impossible to blockade it regularly. The two acting corps communicated together, on the one part, in front of Pont Mayor, and on the other, by fords which were staked out in the Ter, opposite Santa Eugenia. On the first rise of the waters, the latter communication could not fail to be interrupted. As the corps were unequally composed, the old and the new corps were blended, in order to make an equal division of duties. Though Reille had not been expressly put under the command of Duhesme, yet he put himself under it; being too well informed not to be aware, that a concentration of command was indispensable, and having too much patriotism to refuse doing for the benefit of the





service, that which his own good sense advised him. On the site of the two old abandoned towers of St. Louis and St. Daniel, General Dohesme ordered the construction of two batteries; one of these, composed of two sixteen-pounders, was to batter the fort in breach, while the other, of two long twelve-pounders and two six-inch howitzers, was to silence the enemy's fire, and render the post untenable. A work and a battery of two sixteen-pounders were established, to ricochet the face of the San Pedro bastion, and beat down the wall of the place, on the side of the gate of France. To second this principal attack, a battery of two howitzers and a sixteen-pounder was erected up the river Oña, against the Santa Clara bastion; a battery of howitzers was placed at Casa del Roca, joined with the ricochet battery; and near the village of Santa Eugenia was a mortar battery, to set fire to the city.

The labours of the siege were carried on with extreme slowness; every thing was wanting, and, at each moment, it was necessary to send to Figueras, to obtain what was needful. However well escorted the convoys might be, they had to keep up a musketry fire with the troops of Don Juan Claros. Before Girona, the soldiers could not quit the camp without being precipitately driven back by the peasants and the Miquelets of Don Francisco Milans. Perpetual detachments were obliged to be made, to prevent incessant attacks from the Miquelets. Provisions failed. Grain had been found in the fertile

plains round Girona ; but, for want of the means to grind it, the troops were obliged to eat flummery, and many had not wherewithal to subsist upon. Sickness broke out among the besiegers, and particularly in Reille's corps, which consisted of young soldiers. The besieged, on the contrary, were in health. Far from being blockaded, the inhabitants continued to draw their subsistence from the country, and on the 25th of July, the day after the junction of Reille and Duhesme, there entered into the city, from the sea-coast, a light infantry battalion, thirteen hundred strong, of the second Barcelona volunteers, with two field-pieces completely fitted for service. Such was the abundance of provisions in the place, and so open was the communication with the country, that the disciplined Miquelets of Francisco Milans, who were collected at Casa de la Selva, in general received their rations from the fortress. The intelligence which was received from other parts tended also to animate the courage of the besieged. Lecchi, an Italian general, whom Duhesme had left with four thousand men at Barcelona, to keep down that capital, while the operations were carrying on against Girona, had despatched, by sea, reports to his general-in-chief, which had been intercepted. These reports were dictated by a feeling of disgust and alarm, amounting to terror, which, however, was justified by the efficacious succours that were preparing for the Catalan cause. The inhabitants of Girona, who, when almost abandoned to themselves,

had repulsed the energetic attack of Duhesme, on the 20th of June, now that they were powerfully reinforced, and rich in hope, felt an increased degree of confidence and of boldness.

Such was the respective situation of the besiegers and besieged, on the 9th of August, when the two French generals received, from Bayonne, along with the news of the check sustained by the French arms in Andalusia, an order to desist from offensive operations. Duhesme was directed to return to Barcelona, which might be put in jeopardy by the lengthened absence of a large body of troops; and Reille, to remain before Girona, if he could, and, in the contrary case, to fall back on Figueras. The two generals were to confine their efforts, each in his respective sphere of activity, to pacifying, disarming, and holding possession of the country in their vicinity.

Though the order was positive, Duhesme was reluctant to lose the fruit of twenty days' labours. On the 12th, being ready to open his fire, he summoned the place; as he was of opinion that the inhabitants had more influence on the resistance than the garrison itself had, he represented to them in strong language to what sufferings they would be exposed from a siege. The Junta replied, that it was ready to suffer every thing, sooner than cease to be faithful to the national cause. In the course of the following night the firing was commenced from the bombarding batteries, and from those di-

rected against the Santa Clara and San Pedro bastions. On the morning of the 13th, Mont Joui was battered. After a hot fire had been kept up for some hours, the artillery of that fort was dismounted, and in the wall were perceived the first signs of a breach, which the officers and soldiers of the regiment of Utonia were actively engaged in repairing with bags of earth. As there were no trenches, by which to arrive at the breach, it would have been the height of imprudence to attempt an assault. The moral effect which had been expected from the bombarding batteries, was not produced; they did little mischief in the city. It was, therefore, become a combat of artillery, in which the French, poor in ammunition and in the number of cannon, must necessarily fail. There was nothing left for them but to submit to raise the siege. It was decided that all the remaining ammunition should be expended. In the mean time the sick and wounded were sent off towards France, as expeditiously as possible. Reille and Duhesme reciprocally restored the corps and detachments which were under their respective commands, made some exchanges, and sent out parties to ascertain the state of the country in their rear. There being no horses to remove the besieging train, they were under the necessity of abandoning the artillery, the heavy cannon, and the mortars. According to the calculation of the time required to use up all the ammunition, the raising of the siege was to take place on the night of the 16th.



All these dispositions were made in the spirit of the orders received from Bayonne. But, even had this not been the case, they were become indispensable, in consequence of an accession of enemies, of whom they had no knowledge till after these arrangements had been settled.

Since the renewal of hostilities, in 1804, between Great Britain and Spain, the latter power had kept up, in the Balearic isles, situated in the Mediterranean, thirty-five leagues from the Catalonian coast, a permanent garrison of ten thousand six hundred regular troops. An English squadron, which was in the Mediterranean, carried to the natives and soldiers the news of the invasion of the French, and the resistance of the Spaniards. On the 1st of June, the island of Minorca solemnly proclaimed Ferdinand VII. as its legitimate sovereign. Though the same spirit animated the island of Majorca, it manifested itself in a less signal manner. Don Juan Miguel de Vives, Captain-general of the Balearic isles, resided at Palma. He was an old man of sixty, who wished to have the semblance of law on his side. Like all the other personages of his rank and age, he at first opposed the popular movement; but, yielding to the national wish, he concluded a separate armistice with the Admiral who commanded the British forces in the Mediterranean.

An incessant correspondence was now carried on between Catalonia and the islands. The Supreme Junta of Lerida intreated Vives to come to their

assistance, with the troops which he commanded. The Captain-general did not think it right to comply with the wishes of a provincial Junta, till he knew what would be ordered by the central authority, which could not fail to be speedily organized, for the government of the whole of Spain. The Catalans succeeded better with the Marquis del Palacio, Marechal-de-camp and Governor of the island of Minorca. The latter was an Arragonese; the troops were attached to him. In compliance with the unanimous and ardent desire that was expressed, he determined to proceed to Catalonia with his garrison, consisting of four thousand six hundred and thirty men.

The embarkation began, on the 13th of July, at Port Mahon. Three companies of Arragonese volunteers and fifty cannoneers were the first that sailed; they landed near Tortosa, whence they were sent to Saragossa. The second battalion of Barcelona volunteers was despatched to San Felice de Guixols, from whence, as we have already mentioned, they reached the fortress of Girona, which was then invested by the French. The remainder of the troops, consisting of the regiments of Soria, Grenada, and Bourbon, a detachment of sappers, and another of artillery-men, with thirty-seven field-pieces, were landed on the 22d in the harbour of Tarragona.

The arrival of this corps of Spanish troops decided the conduct of those who had hitherto been irresolute. Detachments of regulars, and insulated



officers, who, not knowing what was going on in other parts of Spain, were afraid of participating in the rising of the peasantry, now no longer hesitated to join the national army. All that still remained of Spanish officers and privates, and particularly of the corps of artillery, at Barcelona, made their escape from that city. Even the Magistrates blushed to exercise their functions under the authority of a foreign military force, and endeavoured to shake it off. Palacio was declared Captain-general of the principality of Catalonia, and, as such, President of the Supreme Junta. This Junta removed itself from Lerida, which was beyond the sphere of operation, to Tarragona; bound itself to follow the movements of the head-quarters of the army, and, after having completed its organization, declared itself to be invested with the exercise of the sovereign power, during the captivity of King Ferdinand the seventh.

A few days after he landed, the Captain-general pushed forward to the Llobregat an advanced guard of sixteen hundred men, with four pieces of cannon, under the orders of Brigadier Count de Caldagues, Colonel of the regiment of Bourbon, one of those Frenchmen who had forgotten their country, and devoted themselves to the perpetual service of foreigners. Caldagues marched his troops in two columns; that on the left, met at Martorell, on the 30th, the corps of Colonel Bajet. That of the right took post, on the same day, at San Boy, and was scarcely established there before it had a skirmish

with a reconnoitring party of infantry and cavalry from Barcelona.

Having a disposable force of only four thousand men, all Italians and Neapolitans, and more inclined than the French to desert, General Lecchi concentrated his garrison in Mont Joui, in the citadel, and in the Atarazanas, a spot on the shore where stand the barracks and the arsenals. Even the Atarazanas did not appear to him to be sufficiently insulated or safe; and he, therefore, removed into the two castles, forty thousand muskets from the arsenals, the powder from the magazines, and the cannon from the ramparts. So many precautions were less prompted by a dread of the regular forces which had arrived to the succour of Catalonia, than by the well-grounded terror inspired by the impending revolt of a population of nearly a hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, all of whom were hostile.

Lecchi, however, could not shut himself up in the city; for, in that case, the Somatènes instantly made their appearance even on the ridges which overlook the streets, and the sight of those brave peasants might kindle an insurrection. Every day it was necessary to resort to a fire of musketry, in order to drive back those incensed and persevering Somatènes, who took flight rapidly, but returned with still greater rapidity. When the Italians moved along the coast road, grape-shot was showered upon them from two English frigates, which blockaded the harbour. Since the day that Duhesme left Ma-



taro, nothing had been heard of him. The garrison of Barcelona held but a single point between Barcelona and Girona ; this was the castle of Mongat.

Mongat, situated on the verge of the sea, at four leagues distance from the first of those cities, hardly deserves the name of a castle. It is a house on a knoll, with a coast battery. A hundred and fifty Neapolitans were stationed in it, of whom more than half had deserted. Barcelo, the same officer that defended this position when the French executed their first sally from Barcelona, formed the plan of making use of these deserters to recover Mongat. On the 31st of July, the castle was surrounded by the Somatènes of the village of Tiana, Alella, Taya, Masnon, Vilasar, and Prenia, and by the Miquelets of the companies of Solench, Belloch, Barber, and Caldero. Lord Cochrane, who commanded the English blockading vessels, approached with his frigate *l'Imperieuse*, of forty-two guns, and landed a part of his crew, who joined the Catalans. The Neapolitan deserters ran to the foot of the castle, and loudly called to their comrades, assuring them that no harm would be done to them. Though he was pressed by a multitude of enemies, was shut up in the barrack, and had ill-disposed soldiers, the officer in command still had sufficient control over his garrison to prevent it from falling into the hands of the peasantry ; and he surrendered to the detachment from the frigate, in pursuance of a capitulation signed by Lord Cochrane.

The country being thus cleared of the enemy, the Marquis del Palacio, the Spanish general, who was posted on the Llobregat, could, with equal chances of success, employ his forces either against Barcelona or against the French corps, which was besieging Girona. The first operation would not have produced any present result, for it was necessary to take Mont Joui and the citadel, and the Spaniards were far from being able to undertake regular sieges. The second operation, by bringing it into contact with veteran troops, might risk the safety of an inexperienced and badly organized army, and thus, in one day, ruin the hopes and future prospects of the province. In this alternative, the Spanish general resolved to content himself with harassing the French before Girona, retarding their progress, and preparing to take advantage of any favourable circumstances that might arise. The performance of this task was entrusted to the detachment on the Llobregat. In the mean time, the Marquis del Palacio remained at Tarragona, organizing his army, and too far from the theatre of operations to take any immediate part in them.

Caldagues set out from Martorell, on the 6th of August, with three companies of Soria, one of Bourbon, two thousand Miquelets of the new levy, under the orders of Don Juan Bajet, and three pieces of cannon. He halted several days at Hostalrich, where he collected a considerable number of Miquelets and Somatènes, and augmented his artillery

with two pieces of cannon ; and he arrived, on the 14th, at Castellar de la Selva, within sight of the enemy's camp before Girona. There he effected his junction with the corps of Milans and Claros, by which his force was raised to eight thousand troops, of various kinds. In a conference with the superior officers of the garrison of Girona, it was resolved that the attack on the French should take place on the following day ; on the breaking up of the conference, the officers returned to the fortress, to execute, at the head of their troops, the movements which had been arranged.

The 16th of August, which was the day chosen for the attack by the Spaniards, was precisely the last which the French meant to remain before Girona. The whole of Duhesme's troops had crossed over to the left bank of the Oña. On the front of attack of Mont Joui, between the Oña and the Ter, there remained the fifth battalion of the fifth legion, the Valaisan battalion, and two battalions of the 113th, posted in echelon on the village of Camp Duras, to cover the rear of the attack. About nine in the morning, almost the whole of the garrison of Girona, led by Lieutenant-colonel Don Narciso de la Valeta, of the second Barcelona regiment, and by Major Don Enrique O'Donnel, of the regiment of Utonia, sallied from the fortress, and, seconded by the detachment from Mont Joui, overthrew the fifth battalion of the fifth legion of reserve, and set fire to the batteries of Saint Daniel and Saint Louis. Reille hurried

from Pont Mayor, at the head of the battalion of the thirty-second, and of three companies of the sixteenth, rallied the fugitives, and retook the batteries of Saint Louis. But, at that moment, Don Juan Claros, arriving by the road of Los Angeles, had driven back the advanced post of the Tuscan regiment from the hermitage of Saint Michael, and attacked their encampment at Camp Duras ; while Milans, followed by Caldagues, came up, in several columns, by the road of Castellar de Selva. Reille concentrated his troops at Pont Mayor. This action cost him seventy-five men killed or prisoners, and a hundred and ninety-six wounded. Gardet, an engineer, commandant of battalion, was among the slain. The Spaniards lost thirty-five men killed or prisoners, and one hundred and eight wounded. During the rest of the day, they made no attempt to carry Pont Mayor, or to send parties into the rear of the French. At a league behind his post, Reille ordered a bridge to be repaired, which the peasants had broken in the morning, and which was not occupied. Duhesme continued with his corps in the plain of Saint Eugenia, avoiding a general action, from which it was impossible that any benefit could arise.

In the course of the night of the 16th, Reille and Duhesme retreated, the one on Figuierras, the other on Barcelona. Two French squadrons were sufficient to keep at bay the troops of Don Claros and of Bajet, by whom Reille was pursued. The Count



de Caldagues took no steps to profit by the advantage which the garrison of Girona had gained. He remained quiet in the place with his corps. In spite, however, of his General-in-chief, the active Milans followed the French on the Barcelona road. There every thing had been prepared to inflict as much injury on them as possible. The road was cut up and obstructed, and the English frigates and Catalan feluccas approached the shore, to fire on the passers by. Foreseeing the obstacles he should have to encounter, Duhesme did not hesitate to add to the sacrifice he had already made of his besieging artillery, the farther sacrifice of four field pieces and of some heavy cannon which he had till now retained. He burnt the carriages and buried the guns near Calalla. Then, taking the mountain road, to avoid the cannon of the vessels, he succeeded in reaching Barcelona, without having been more annoyed than a corps of troops always is, when it traverses a country inhabited by a hostile population.

Thus, in consequence of the enormous fault committed by the French, of not garrisoning the whole of the Catalanian fortresses, while it was in their power to do so, they, at the close of the month of August, 1808, held nothing in the whole principality, except the fort of San Fernando de Figueras, an indispensable point on the base of operations, and the great city of Barcelona, which, from its position and its remoteness from France, is destined to be perpetually blockaded by sea and land. In

this new war, however, in which men were more than territory, and moral force was greater than physical, the events in Catalonia were necessarily of secondary importance. They were so considered by Napoleon; and if the Spaniards did not always see them in that light, we must attribute the circumstance to their ancient prejudices, which induce them to look upon Catalonia as the citadel of Spain. At the opposite extremity of the Peninsula, in Portugal, a higher game was playing; not that the fate of that small kingdom was in itself, or in its connection with the whole Peninsula, more worthy of attention than the fate of the large principality of Catalonia, but because on that distant shore was soon to be organized the arsenal of the British power. In the eighth book, we shall proceed to narrate the events which occurred in Portugal during the summer of 1808, and which of course were simultaneous with those that happened at nearly the same epoch, in the other parts of the Peninsula.



**BOOK VIII.**

**THE INVASION OF PORTUGAL.**



General Junot receives an order from the Emperor to open the communication with Spain—General Loison is detached on Ciudad-Rodrigo, to obtain information respecting Marshal Bessieres—Detachment commanded by General Avril, to join General Dupont in Andalusia—Insurrection of Badajoz—Desertion of the Spanish troops in Portugal—The Junta of Galicia orders the troops of General Taranco to return to Spain—General Quesnel is arrested at Oporto—He is made prisoner, with all the French under his command—Reprisals of General Junot—General Loison marches against Oporto—He is attacked by the insurgent peasants, and compelled to fall back—Oporto rises—The students of the University of Coimbra take up arms—Rising of the Provinces—The sacking of Beja—Procession of Corpus Christi at Lisbon—General Junot sends deputies to pacify the provinces—They are unable to execute their mission—March of General Margaron on Leiria—Concentration of the French troops on Lisbon—Evora taken by assault by the troops of General Loison—Disturbed state of Lisbon—Junot fortifies and victuals that city—Arrival of the English fleet in Mondego Bay.

## BOOK VIII.


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### INVASION OF PORTUGAL.

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WHEN, at the close of the year 1807, twenty-five thousand Frenchmen invaded Portugal, Spain was the friend of France, and every day seemed to draw closer the ties by which the two powers were connected. It seemed as if, by flying to Brazil, the Braganzas had legitimized the foreign occupation. The General-in-chief was quite delighted in contemplating the docility of the Portuguese; he even believed in the personal attachment of the inhabitants of Lisbon. His confidential reports, as well as his public acts, bore the stamp of this prepossession. "This people," he continually said, "is easily managed. I am better obeyed here, and more expeditiously, than ever the Prince Regent was."

At Paris, the question presented itself under a less pleasing aspect. The Emperor had not foreseen the rising of Spain, because, in reality, it was his wish to improve the condition of the Spaniards. He expected the hatred of the Portuguese, because,



in his eyes, this diminutive kingdom was merely an English colony, which was to be squeezed and ransomed. The pompous proclamations, issued by the General of his army, were sometimes in contradiction to this harsh policy. "Of what use is it," wrote the Minister Clarke, in his sovereign's name, to General Junot,—“of what use is it to make promises which you will not be able to perform? No doubt, nothing can be more laudable than to gain the confidence and affection of the inhabitants. But do not forget that the safety of the army is a paramount object. Disarm the Portuguese; keep a strict watch over the soldiers that have been sent home, that no daring leaders may appear, to make them the centres of insurrection in the interior. Watch, too, the Spanish troops. Guard the important fortresses of Almeida and Elvas. Lisbon is too large, too populous a city, and the population is necessarily hostile. Withdraw your troops from it. Hut them on the sea-coast. Keep them exercised, disciplined, collected in masses, instructed, that they may be always ready to fight with the English army, which, sooner or later, will be landed on the shores of Portugal.”

The season for effecting a disembarkation was yet at a distance. On the other hand, imminent and unforeseen difficulties had arisen, with respect to the occupation of Spain. It was necessary to attend first to the business which was most pressing. Napoleon, therefore, ordered that four thousand men,

of the army of Portugal, should proceed to Ciudad-Rodrigo, to support the operations of Marshal Bessières, and that four thousand more should be sent to General Dupont, to co-operate in taking possession of Andalusia.

The first detachment set out from Almeida, early in the month of June, under the orders of the General-of-division Loison. At a league and a half from that city, and at the very entrance of the Spanish territory, appears, on the flat summit of a granitic hill, the fort of Conception, placed there like an advanced horse-sentinel to see what is going forward upon the Portuguese frontier. The French General offered to the Governor to send into the fort some companies of infantry, to assist him against the common enemies of France and Spain. This singular proposal excited suspicion. In the course of the following night, the Governor, with his feeble garrison, escaped by a postern gate.

Nothing on this frontier indicated that Marshal Bessières might be expected to approach it. The province of Salamanca, like the other Spanish provinces, was arming to deliver Ferdinand VII. The fortress of Ciudad-Rodrigo was full of troops, and its ramparts were covered with artillery. General Loison had received instructions not to advance on Ciudad-Rodrigo, unless he could enter the place without fighting. He, therefore, halted his troops.

The second detachment had already entered Estremadura, under the orders of Brigadier-general



Avril. The eighty-sixth regiment of infantry, the fourth provisional regiment of dragoons, and a train of ten pieces of cannon, were to join the legion of the South, at Mertola; this conjunct force was to descend the Guadiana in boats as far as Alcoutim, where it was to receive farther orders from General Dupont, the commander of the Andalusian expedition. Girod de Novilars, the commandant of a battalion of engineers, was sent to make preparations for embarking the troops. Musket shot were fired at him from San Lucar del Guadiana, a Spanish town, opposite the Portuguese town of Alcoutim. The Andalusian insurrection had already spread from one place to another, to the borders of Portugal. Estremadura was also in a state of combustion. On the 30th of May, the revolution was effected at Badajoz, more actively, more furiously, than in the other cities, because the French were in the vicinity. The populace tore in pieces Count Torre del Fresno, whose only crime was his being a relation of the Prince of the Peace. Other Spaniards narrowly escaped the same fate. Desprès and Paulin, captains of Engineers, Captain Galbois, aid-de-camp to General Lagrange, and the auditor of the Council of State, M. Lacuée, who were passing through, on a mission to Lisbon, were shut up in prison, lucky in being thus rescued from the fury of the populace, who wished to murder them.

Badajoz is the principal fortress of the South of Spain. It is situated on the left bank of the Gua-

diann, over which river there is a noble stone bridge; on the right bank stands the fort of San Cristoval. On the 1st of June, a Commissioner from the Junta of Seville arrived there, to organize the insurrection of Estremadura, and harmonize it with the general rising of Spain. The place was rendered in some measure defensible. Some troops were collected, and began to establish a camp, under the orders of General Don José Galleza, near the fort of San Cristoval. An appeal was published to all those who served by compulsion in the ranks of the French. The Portuguese soldiers on service, whom the new government paid badly, and the disbanded ones, who were not paid at all, hurried in crowds to Badajoz, from all quarters of Alemtejo. The Spaniards, of course, did the same, and with still greater eagerness; a squadron of Maria Louisa's hussars was the first to go over. A hundred and thirty men of the Valencian regiment of Volunteers escaped from Setubal with their colours. General Graindorge pursued them at the head of some French dragoons, but could not hinder them from accomplishing their purpose.

These partial desertions were only the prelude to a complete defection. The ten thousand Spaniards, who had entered the North of the kingdom, still occupied Oporto, under the command of a Frenchman, General Quesnel, who displayed extreme moderation in the exercise of his command. His prudent and reserved character would have inclined him to

act so, even had not his insulated position rendered it absolutely necessary. Like the rest of the nation, the Spanish troops at Oporto had waited with extreme anxiety, to see what would be the result of the Emperor's policy. Like the rest of the nation, their indignation had been kindled, first, by the events at Bayonne, and, subsequently, by those of the 2nd of May. For a while, Quesnel hoped to restrain the Spanish soldiers by kind treatment, and by the example of the submission of the Portuguese inhabitants. He, however, armed and furnished with provisions the fort of San-Joao de Foz, at the mouth of the Douro, hoping to find an asylum there, with his weak French escort, at the moment when the Spaniards should break out into revolt.

That moment was not long in coming. The Junta of Galicia was one of the first that was formed; it immediately began to play the part which belonged to it in the deliverance of Spain, from its possession of the ports of Ferrol and Corunna, its facility of communicating with England, and the circumstance of its having a brave and extremely dense population. The ten thousand Spaniards stationed in the Portuguese province of the Minho, were considered as the army of Galicia. The Junta ordered them, in the name of the captive King and the shamefully betrayed nation, to return into the province, and to bring with them, as prisoners, all the French whom they could find at Oporto, or on their way homeward. Don Domingo Bellesta, Marechal-de-camp of



the engineer corps, the officer highest in rank since the death of General Taranco, caused General Quesnel to be arrested by his own guard. The French officers, clerks, dragoons, and cannoneers, were treated in the same manner. Had he been a man of any energy, Bellesta might easily have raised the population of Oporto against the French; but he had too little resolution, and too mean an appearance, to accomplish such an undertaking. He contented himself with hastily convoking the magistrates, and asking them whether they would be for Portugal, for Spain, or for France. "For Portugal!" they unanimously exclaimed; and immediately Major Raymundo Jose Pinheiro, temporary Governor of the Castle of San-Joao de Foz, hoisted the Portuguese flag on his fort, and opened a correspondence with the English brig, the *Eclipse*, which was cruising off this coast; but the Spaniards departed to Galicia, taking with them their prisoners.

The magistrates, and especially the military commandant, Luiz da Oliveyra da Costa, terrified by the future responsibility which they had incurred, hastened to renew their submission to the French General-in-chief at Lisbon. The national flag was hauled down at San-Joao de Foz. Pinheiro took flight. The population had taken no part in the movement. It saved several Frenchmen from the hands of the Spaniards.

On the 9th of June, the news reached Lisbon, of the defection of the Spanish troops, and the carry-



ing off of General Quesnel. Confident and careless in the ordinary circumstances of life, Junot was incapable of hesitation whenever there was imminent and palpable danger. At this moment he had about him, in Lisbon and its vicinity, Caraffa's division, composed of six battalions of infantry, a regiment of cavalry, and some troops of artillery, all of them excited to the same pitch as the others, by the intelligence which they received from Spain, and likewise stimulated to desert, by the numerous emissaries from Seville and Badajoz. Within twenty-four hours, the six battalions, the artillery, and the cavalry, were enveloped and disarmed by the French, some in their barracks, others in combined marches, on which they were dispatched in order to separate them. Of the whole division there escaped only a few hundred men of the regiment of Murcia, and some of Maria Louisa's hussars. The others were confined on board of vessels in the Tagus, surrounded by the French ships of war. The officers were allowed to remain at Lisbon on their parole.

This bold stroke filled the population of Lisbon with astonishment.\* It regarded the measure as only a just retribution for the treachery of which the Spanish troops had been guilty at Oporto. There was not a moment to be lost in turning it to account throughout Portugal. The General-in-chief thanked the magistrates and the inhabitants of Oporto, for the interest

\* See Notes and Illustrations, No. XXX. at the end of this volume.

which they had taken in the fate of General Quesnel and his companions in misfortune. To Brigadier Oliveyra, who had pulled down the Portuguese standard at San-Joao de Foz, he promised that he would personally recommend him to the Emperor. The opinion of the Archbishop of Braga having a powerful influence in the North of Portugal, particular means of persuasion were employed for bringing him back to his allegiance to Napoleon. In the South, another influence was resorted to, that of the Count of Castro Marim, Monteiro Mor, who was living on his estates in the kingdom of Algarve. A commission of three judges of Lisbon was formed, to suggest to the General-in-chief the means of affording assistance to individuals of all classes, who had suffered in their fortune by the change of government. The Portuguese officers, both in service and on half pay, received in specie a third of their allowance, instead of a fifth which they had till then received, the rest being paid in paper-money, which was at a considerable discount. While their situation was thus improved, an appearance of confidence was placed in them. They, it was said, ought to have the guarding of their own fortresses. In consequence, Major-general Antonio José Miranda Henriquez was ordered to raise, according to the ancient forms of the country, five companies of militia in the Alemtejo, to garrison Elvas. The most positive assurances were given both in public and private, and in all shapes, that the present disturbances in Spain arose from the Emperor's refusal

to consent that Portugal should be dismembered. The Spaniards wished to take the Minho for the Queen of Etruria, Algarves for Godoy, and Alemtejo for themselves. Napoleon, on the contrary, was desirous that Portugal should preserve its provinces, its independence, and its splendour, under a monarch. The time was come to exert all their efforts in common against the common enemy. General Loison was on the point of marching to Oporto, with his column of troops, to support a faithful population, and protect it against the attacks which would undoubtedly be made on it from the side of Galicia.

Loison did, in fact, commence his march from Almeida, on the 17th of June, with two battalions and fifty horse. Another battalion, with a battery of artillery, set off from Torres Vedras, to join him by the high road. The whole number was eighteen hundred, and it was with this force that Loison was to occupy the great city of Oporto, guard Valença do Minho, Vianna, and the forts on the coast, and watch the land and sea frontier. On the 20th of June, he passed the Douro in boats, at Pezo da Regoa, and his two battalions slept in the bottom of the valley. The Douro flows between two very steep mountains; their sides, up to the summit, are covered with the vines which produce that excellent wine called port by the English, because it is from Porto that they obtain it.

The French continued their march on Amarante, on the morning of the 21st. The road ascends the



mountain in zigzags, to render the declivity passable. The column had just advanced to Mezanfrio, when the rear-guard and the baggage, which had not yet left the banks of the Douro, were assailed by a discharge of musketry from among the vines, and behind the walls, and by stones hurled from the high points of the rocks. Loison halted, retraced his ground, and sent two companies of light troops to dislodge these troublesome irregulars. Some of them were taken, who had been old soldiers. They stated, that Padroës de Texeira and all the villages as far as the Serra de Marao, were full of insurgent peasantry; that the inhabitants of Amarante were preparing to defend the Tamega; that the most prudent were gone to Chaves in search of soldiers and cannon; and that the provinces of Tras-os-Montes and Entre Minho e Douro were rising in arms, and had sworn to combat against the French till death.

Loison congratulated himself on having been so precipitately attacked. What would have become of him, if the peasants had allowed him to advance from the Douro, and had then sunk the boats collected at the wine-magazine of Pezo da Regoa? It would have been madness, with two battalions, to encounter a numerous and enthusiastic population, in a difficult country, and leaving at his back a large river, flowing through a deep valley, which has no fords except during the most violent heat of summer, and, in the whole of its course through Portugal has not a single fixed point! Loison passed the



night at Pezo da Regoa, and next day he recrossed the Douro.

It was now plain enough, that neither to the affection of the people for the French, nor even to the terror that their government inspired, must be ascribed the quietness with which the inhabitants of Oporto had remained passive spectators of the violence committed on Quesnel by the Spaniards. The news of that general's arrest had been instantaneously spread through the northern provinces. It was added, that Junot and his soldiers had been treated in the same manner at Lisbon, by Caraffa and his Spaniards. The feeling of national independence was immediately awakened in every bosom. It manifested itself first where the French troops had never shown themselves, and where no foreign influence excited the Portuguese to shake off the yoke.

On the 11th of June, an old man, who was more than eighty years of age, Manuel George Gomez de Sepulveda, a lieutenant-general, and formerly governor of Tras-os-Montes, led the way in proclaiming the restoration of the Prince Regent of Portugal, and summoned to arms the inhabitants of his province. Mirando do Douro, Ruyvaëns, Villa-Real, Torre de Moncorvo, Chaves, Villapouca, and a hundred other towns and villages, almost at the same moment re-echoed the cries of *Viva o nosso principe! Viva Portugal! morra Junot! morra Napoleon!* Nearly the whole of the neighbouring pro-

vince of Entre Minho e Douro participated in this enthusiasm. On the 17th, the Portuguese *quinas* were replaced, at Guimaraens; the cradle of that King of Portugal, for whom, according to the pious tradition, they descended of yore from heaven to the field of Ourique. Vianna, the seat of the provincial military authority, officially renounced, on the 18th, the French domination. For several days past, the Archbishop of Braga had offered, in his metropolitan church, the accustomed prayers for the royal House of Braganza.

At Oporto, the slight degree of interest which had been felt for General Quesnel and his companions in misfortune, rapidly died away. It was succeeded by a few days of quiet, and then burst forth the germ of popular irritation. Luiz d'Oliveira endeavoured to repress it. He was not attached to the French, still less was he an enemy to the family of his sovereigns. He, therefore, wrote to the Duke of Abrantes, protesting his submission to the Emperor Napoleon, at the same time that he wrote to General Bellesta, requesting that he would send a Spanish force, to second the patriotic and loyal wishes of the Portuguese. His object was merely to gain time.

Some fragments of the militia battalions of Oporto, Penafiel, and Maya, with which he endeavoured to maintain his tottering authority, were desirous of displaying their ancient standards, in the procession of Corpus Christi, which took place on the 16th of June. Luiz d'Oliveira formally prohibited them



from doing so. Two days after, on the 18th, some carts were loading with bread at the military magazine. The inhabitants learned this, and said to each other that this bread had been required by the Juiz de Fora of Oliveira d'Azemeis, for a column of French troops, which was every moment expected. As the canoneers of the regiment of Vianna, who were employed in the arsenal, had not received their rations for several days, a man in the crowd exclaimed, "You see it is only for the Portuguese that no bread can be found." The multitude immediately raised the cry of—"Do not let us suffer this bread to be sent to the French." The carts were plundered of their contents. The national acclamations were heard, and were repeated by thousands of voices. The people thronged from all quarters. They hurried to the square of San Oviedo, in the most elevated part of the city. The doors of the arsenal were broken open, and muskets, powder, and cartridges, were distributed to all who asked for them. Joao Manuel de Mariz, a captain of artillery, got out four pieces of cannon; as there were no horses to draw them, the priests, the monks, and the women, harnessed themselves to them, and drew them up the heights of Villa Nova, on the other side of the Douro. More than ten thousand men were running through the streets. At the head of about twenty armed Spaniards, covered with dust, now suddenly appeared among the throng, Major Pinheiro, the first insurgent of San-Joao de Foz, who had kept

himself concealed since the departure of Bellesta. "A Spanish army is coming!" The Antelope brig approached, and seemed to intend to enter the river. "Here is an English squadron!" War-cries were intermingled with the firing of muskets. The alarm-bell was rung in all the churches. The constituted authority was impotent to repress a popular and turbulent insurrection, which was become so general. Luiz d'Oliveira was thrown into a dungeon, as a traitor to the nation. A great number of other citizens met with similar treatment, because they were reputed partisans of the foreigner. Those Frenchmen whom, only ten days before, a generous hospitality had rescued from the hands of the Spaniards, were now everywhere sought for, that they might be put to death.

The Portuguese nation is active, hasty, and clamorous; its good and bad qualities are more strikingly conspicuous in a city like Oporto, where a population of forty thousand souls is fed by an extensive commerce, and where the fine climate allows it to assemble in large bodies in the streets. As the multitude gave themselves up to excesses of all kinds, men of consequence, who at first kept in the back-ground, now felt the necessity of introducing themselves into this anarchical mass, in order to guide it. In that degree of civilization which the Portuguese have attained, opinion has still a power which acts on men, when the power of government has ceased to exist. On the 19th, in the morning,



the throngs of people were impelled to the episcopal palace. The bishop appeared in his balcony, gave his blessing, kissed the banners of the country, and said to those who bore them, "Let us go and return thanks to God." The flock followed its pastor to the cathedral church. After *Te Deum* had been sung, a Junta was proclaimed to govern Portugal, till the Prince Regent should signify his pleasure. This Junta was composed of eight members, chosen from among the clergy, the magistracy, the military, and the mass of the citizens: the Bishop was its president.

The instinct of patriotism had already supplied the want of a government. The inhabitants of Torre de Moncorvo destroyed the boats on the Douro, through the whole extent of their *comarca*, to prevent the garrison of Almeida from reaching their town. It was known that the French were in motion from that quarter. The ordenanças and some militia of Villa-Real and of Guimaraens, hurried to meet Loison, without orders, and almost without arms, the majority of them having nothing but pikes or scythes set in handles. It was they who fired the muskets and rolled down the stones at Pezo da Regoa. Their numbers swelled enormously, as soon as they saw the French repass the Douro. They hastened from all the surrounding country, and hung on the enemy's rear. Tired of these troublesome followers, Loison turned upon them at Castro-Dagro, killed some of them, and then continued his march

to Almeida, by the way of Viseu and Calorico, without farther molestation.

Father José Joachim de l'Assomption, a monk of the order of Black Friars, marched at the head of this multitude, with his gown tucked up, and firing his musket, like the rest. Another monk, Father José Bernardo de Azevedo, went to Coimbra, with a party of the militia of Aveiro, and a crowd of peasants, to slaughter some French soldiers, who were in the hospital of that city. The poor filled the streets, the rich kept themselves close in their houses. José Pedro de Jesus, judge of the people, and a cooper by trade, gave a hearty reception to the insurgents, ordered a convent to be opened, in which were the pistols, sabres, and carbines, of some squadrons of cavalry that had been disbanded at Coimbra, and distributed these arms among the people. The higher class now took a part in the rising; the magistrates hesitatingly, the students of the university with fury. They became the grenadiers of the insurrection of the learned. The chemical laboratory was converted into a powder manufactory. The professor of metallurgy directed the making of cartridges, and the labours of the workshop for repairing arms. The temple of literature and science was metamorphosed into a military arsenal.

At this period the students were not numerous at Coimbra. Two days after this rising, on the 24th of June, forty of them, headed by Bernardo Antonio Zagolo, one of themselves, and leading two or

three thousand peasants, fell upon a French detachment of foot, which was posted in Figuera, at the mouth of the Mondego, under the orders of Cima, a Portuguese engineer. The soldiers, who were taken by surprise, hastily threw themselves into the castle with their commander. The manner of making a defence, while surrounded by an insurgent population, was not then known. As there were no provisions in the fort, it soon capitulated, on condition of the troops being allowed to join the French army; but the capitulation was violated. The conquerors of Figuera entered Coimbra in triumph with their prisoners. In the meanwhile, Sir Charles Cotton, the English Admiral, thinking that the fort of Figuera, which commands a good anchorage and a coast easily accessible, might one time or other be useful to the projects of England, sent ashore a hundred marines to occupy it.

Success increased their boldness. Other students of Coimbra marched to Pombal, driving before them twelve or fifteen dragoons, who had been stationed at Condeixa-a-Velha, to keep open the correspondence; everywhere on the road there was nothing but fireworks, illuminations, and ringing of bells. Everywhere the standard of the Prince Regent was again raised.

At Leiria, too, the still increasing mass of the peasants compelled the citizens to declare themselves. The like happened at Thomar without the intervention of any kind of force from other quarters. Lei-

ria and Thomar are only twenty-five leagues from Lisbon. All these movements, which were incessantly spreading, sprang, however, from the same principle, preserved the same character, and took place with the same circumstances. The first comer, a peasant, a shop-keeper, or a priest, described to his village, in ardent and enthusiastic terms, the ardour and enthusiasm of the neighbouring village. Then broke out transports of joy, and endless shouts and huzzas. All rushed to the church; the alarm bell was rung; bonfires were made; guns were fired; old cannon, which had never been discharged since the War of the Acclamation, were dug up to celebrate this new Portuguese restoration. Meanwhile, the Corregidors, the Provedors, and particularly the Juiz de Fora, manifested uneasiness at the outset. The correspondence of the Intendant-general of the French police was so active! so prompt! so threatening! But they too were very soon borne away by the torrent of public feeling. The priests perambulated the towns and hamlets, preaching the French crusade. The disbanded officers and soldiers ran to arms, the militia resumed their uniforms, the Captain *mors* made appeals to a devotedness which outstripped even their call. Men started up everywhere; some armed with pikes, others with scythes fixed into handles; very few were furnished with muskets in a serviceable state. They were of all ranks, all professions, all ages; officers, militiamen, husbandmen, and particularly monks, who one while



showing the crucifix, and another while tucking up their gowns, handling a musket, or brandishing a sword, served by their example or their advice, and filled indiscriminately, the office of missionaries, and the posts of soldiers or of leaders.

The Junta of Oporto imposed on itself the duty of giving regularity to these disorderly movements, and directing them to one common end. Its first care was to put down the popular class, or at least to preserve only as much of it as was necessary to combat the enemies of the country. The choice of the bishop to fill the office of President, was a step towards the accomplishment of this prudent plan. Don Antonio de San José de Castro was a descendant of the celebrated John de Castro who rendered the Portuguese name so renowned in India. He was a natural son of Count de Reizende, the hereditary high admiral. Neither in the minds of the nobles, nor of the people, is any idea of disgrace attached to bastardy, in a country where the reigning dynasty was founded by a bastard, by that warrior King, John the First, who usurped the throne in the interest and for the glory of his nation.

Don Antonio de San José de Castro entered the order of Saint Bruno when he was very young. His modest virtues, and the influence of his name, raised him successively to the dignity of principal superior of his order, and to the episcopal see of Oporto. His advanced age had kept him from taking a part in public affairs, especially since the en-

trance of the French and Spaniards into the kingdom. He did not possess that resolute will which commands, and still less had he that address which governs by means of management. Yet the reputation of his virtues, joined to his episcopal character, gave him the ascendant which was requisite to allay the effervescence of the inferior class, and to prevent the enthusiasm in favour of national independence from being mixed up with the democratic ideas which were fermenting in the heads of the enlightened classes. This ascendant served also to establish the superiority of the Junta of Oporto, and to make that superiority acknowledged on the North of the Tagus, both by the Juntas which the people had recently created, and by the old constituted authorities of the monarchy.

The Junta began by opening an intercourse with the enemies of France. The Viscount de Balsemao, the only man of title who was then in the northern provinces, was sent on an embassy to England, to obtain muskets, a supply of money, and troops. A correspondence was also entered into with the Junta of Galicia; but, while waiting for foreign succours, it was necessary to set a national army on foot. Commerce was called on for sacrifices, which it readily made, in order to prevent the re-establishment of an oppressive and impoverishing domination.

The civil organization was only the means of bringing the military force into play. The supreme Junta called to assist it in council, Brigadier Ber-



nardin Freire d'Andrada, and Colonel Don Miguel Pereyra Forjaz Coutinho, two officers who were considered as having great abilities in the administrative branch of warlike affairs, and who, rather than accept employment under the French, had retired to their own homes to wait for better days. All the arms which were in the public magazines, or in the hands of individuals, were collected; a train of field artillery was equipped; the horses which were fit for service were put in requisition; the pay was raised from forty to eighty reis; and the disbanded officers and soldiers of the regulars and militia received orders to proceed to the dépôts, where the old corps were being re-embodied. The second Oporto regiment, which still remembered the execution at Caldas, was one of the first to assemble again. The soldiers hung their standards with crape, and swore not to remove this sign of mourning, till they had avenged the death of their comrades, and washed out in French blood the insult that had been offered to the regiment.

The feelings which animated the opulent city of Oporto, and the rude peasantry of Tras-os-Montes, broke forth, at the same time, and with the same ardency, at the opposite extremity of the kingdom, on a coast inhabited by poor fishermen, among the Algarvians, who are considered as the mildest of the Portuguese. On the 16th of June, the inhabitants of the village of Olhão had got together at the church door, and were reading the proclama-

tion which Junot issued after his having disarmed the Spaniards. Colonel José Lopez de Souza, who, before the foreign invasion, was governor of the small fortress of Villa Real de San Antonio, tore down the placard, "Do not believe these falsehoods, my friends! the French deceive us, plunder us, degrade us. We are no longer Portuguese . . . we are unworthy of the name!" This speech of the Colonel's went to the hearts of his hearers, and they would have run to arms, had there been any in the village. José Lopez set off to the English squadron, which was on the coast, and requested to be furnished with muskets; and as it was unable to supply them, he addressed himself to the Spanish Junta at Ayamonte. Before the arms arrived, the inhabitants of Olhão embarked in their boats, rowed towards the fort of Armona, carried off two cannons from the coast battery, and then went to procure ammunition from the fort of Santo Lorenzo, which defends the entrance of the bar of Faro. In the channel, between the isles and the coast, they saw three barks filled with French soldiers, who were going from Tavira to Faro. These they compelled to surrender.

The French had not more than nine hundred men in Algarve, besides some companies of the legion of the South at Alcoutim; the remainder were posted in reserve at Mertola, while a battalion of the twenty-sixth, fifty chasseurs, and fifty cannoniers, were distributed at Alcoutim, Villa Real de



San Antonio, Tavira and Faro. General Maurin, who held the command in the province, was in the latter town, so ill as to be incapable of being removed. The active command was exercised by Colonel Maransin, of the legion of the South, who was at Villa Real de San Antonio, directing the construction of a battery against the Spanish town of Ayamonte, on the opposite bank of the Guadiana, when he learned the revolt of Olhão. He immediately hurried to Faro, with two hundred French troops, and with the Portuguese cannoners of the regiment of Algarve, on whom he reckoned as on his own soldiers. The insurgents of Olhão endeavoured to stop his progress, but were soon dispersed. Goguet, the corregidor mor, assembled the magistrates of Faro, and represented to them the deluge of calamities which was about to burst on their country. They were seized with terror. In the meanwhile, Gaviel, a captain of artillery, held a parley with the insurgents of Olhão. They trembled to see themselves in the open field, within reach of the French; they were, besides, all sailors and fishermen. A promise was made to them that the past should be forgotten, that they should not be disturbed in the exercise of their calling, and that they should be allowed to carry on the tunny fishery in the high seas. Lopez, who tore down the French proclamation, and Sebastião-Martin Mestre, who had commanded the party in the boats, took flight to Spain.

The report of the rising at Olhão had, meantime, brought down from the mountains a multitude of armed peasants, anxious to participate in the glory of their fellow-countrymen on the coast. Obligated to keep the field, the French had in Faro only a working detachment of troops, attached to the depot of the legion of the South and of the twenty-sixth regiment of infantry. While the town was thus left to itself, one Bento Alvarez da Silva Canedo, a shopkeeper, mounted the belfry of the Carmelite church, and rang the alarm-bell. At this signal the populace broke forth into revolt. The Portuguese regiment of artillery joined their countrymen, and turned their arms against those whom they had hitherto obeyed. The sick general, and a hundred Frenchmen who were in the town, were given up to the English. There was now no rational motive for risking, at the distance of sixty leagues from Lisbon, a handful of French, who were at once threatened by the Spaniards in Ayamonte, and by the English ships, which were almost always in sight. In consequence, the corps assembled at Tavira marched by Zambugal, to rejoin the main body of the legion of the South, at Mertola.

On his arrival there, Maransin, being desirous of learning how matters were going on in Portugal, sent a hundred infantry and thirty dragoons to Beja, to obtain intelligence and collect provisions.

Beja is an ancient city, restored by Julius Cæsar, who gave it the name of *Par Julia*; it contained



six thousand inhabitants. The evacuation of Algarve, which they attributed to Portuguese valour, had turned their heads. They assassinated some Frenchmen; they insulted others. Foreseeing the disasters which would ensue, their Corregidor ran away. The Provedor, Francisco Pesagna, and the Juiz de Fora, Antonio Manuel Ribeire Cermesao, fell victims to the rage of the infuriated populace. The French detachment thought it adviseable to retreat. The inhabitants shouted victory, and gave themselves up to joy.

But before the day was out, Maransin arrived with the whole of the troops, about a thousand men, from Mertola. It was then four in the afternoon, and the soldiers had marched twelve leagues in ten hours; yet, impatient to avenge the death of their comrades, they rushed on the city gates and the breaches in the old Roman walls. Berthier, a brave Commandant-of-battalion of the twenty-ninth, was slain. The rampart was scaled in ten places; the gates were broken down with hatchets. The city was sacked, and all who were found in arms were put to the sword.

The sacking of Beja took place on the 26th. Four days previously, Portuguese blood had flowed in Alemtejo, at Villa Viçoza, a small town, where the Kings of Portugal have a country-seat, and which is considered as the cradle of the Braganzas, because it was from thence that John IV. was taken, to be placed, against his will, on the throne of his

ancestors. A company of the eighty-sixth regiment of foot was quartered at Villa Viçosa; all at once, without any previous signs of such an intention, without any provocation, it was attacked by the inhabitants, and obliged to take refuge in the castle. General Avril was then two leagues and a half off, with the remainder of the regiment. He marched with a demi-battalion, a squadron, and four field-pieces. The revolted populace was mad enough to resolve to fight the French. Antonio Lobo, a major of militia, stationed those who had muskets on the ramparts, the towers, and the adjoining houses. Those who were armed only with pikes, he drew up in column behind the town gate. This clever arrangement was made on the supposition that the French would advance by the Borba road: they came by the Capada road, where they were not expected. Seized with terror, the Portuguese took flight, and lost a considerable number of men, both in the town and on the Olivença road, by which they retreated.

Thus the insurrection burst forth in all quarters at once. The earth could not be stamped on without enemies to the French starting up from it. Lisbon itself experienced a shock, Lisbon, in which was accumulated the greatest portion of the imperial army.

The procession of Corpus Christi, in that capital, is considered as one of the most splendid solemnities of Catholic Europe. It traverses that magnificent



part of the metropolis, raised by the genius of Pom-  
bal on the site of the paltry dwellings which were  
overthrown by the earthquake of the year 1755.  
The streets are then strewed with flowers ; the walls  
are hung with silk and embroidery ; the balconies  
are adorned by the most beautiful, the richest, the  
most superbly-dressed females, who never miss this  
opportunity of satisfying, at the same time, a reli-  
gious duty and a feeling of vanity. The procession  
is opened by a figure of Saint George, glittering with  
topazes, emeralds, and diamonds, mounted on a pal-  
frey of the purest white, and followed by all the re-  
tinue of the King's household. Throngs of penitents  
of all colours, and monks of all descriptions, form a  
lengthened train, which is several hours in passing  
by. The corporations of arts and trades, the senate,  
the tribunals, the councils, the regular troops, the  
generals, the militia come next in succession. The  
knights of all the orders, in their mantles and gala  
robes, precede the canopy, which is borne over the  
consecrated host. Around the canopy march a nu-  
merous clergy, and the chapter of the patriarchal  
church, dressed in similar robes, and equal in pomp  
to the college of cardinals. The sovereign, the  
princes of his family, and the grandees, bring up the  
rear of the procession on foot, without guards, and,  
as it were, mixed with the crowd.

In peaceable times, this solemnity occasioned ex-  
traordinary precautions to be taken by the police,  
in consequence of the immense concourse of people

which it drew to Lisbon. History has preserved the remembrance of attempts made of old by the Spaniards to assassinate King John IV. at the procession of Corpus Christi. On one occasion, during the French Revolution, Manrique, the Superintendant-of-police, stopped the Prince Regent as he was about to enter the church, by telling him that mines had been formed under the streets through which the train was to pass, and that a Jacobin conspiracy was on the point of breaking out. Though this was nothing more than a clumsy falsehood, invented to terrify the Prince Regent, and secure the success of a court-intrigue, yet, on this subject, there remained in men's minds a sort of vague uneasiness, to which the present circumstances were calculated to give a greater degree of stability.

The Duke of Abrantes ordered that the procession should take place with all its accustomed splendour. On this occasion there was every thing that the people could wish for, except the Prince and St. George, whose rich dress was carried off to Brazil. The religious congregations, however, and the constituted bodies of the state, were there in their usual situations. The cannon of the castle were fired every quarter of an hour. The streets were lined by the French infantry. The cavalry was drawn up in battle array, and the artillery ready for action, in the squares. The General-in-chief would not follow the canopy, because he wished to avoid the charge, which would certainly have been brought against

him, of assuming the station of the absent Prince. To receive the benediction, he went to the palace of the Inquisition, which was become the office of the general direction of the police, and is near the church where the ceremony was performed.

The procession had been in motion three hours. Those who opened the march, after having traversed Augusta Street, Commerce Square, and Goldsmiths' Street, were entering Rocio Square. The consecrated host was just being brought out of the church of Saint Dominick. All at once the most violent agitation was visible among the people. Frightful cries were heard, which were repeated throughout the city. Some exclaimed, "The earth trembles, we shall be swallowed up!" Others, "Here are the English!—they are landed, they are coming!" But the greatest number vociferated, "Portuguese, let us stand by each other! they are killing us! they are butchering us!" The streets were too narrow to contain the crowd that rushed into them. The procession was broken; monks, penitents, judges, and knights, took to their heels. The prelate who bore the host returned into the church in dismay, and hid himself in the vestry behind a screen. In a few minutes the ground was strewn with crosses, censers, banners, penitents' bags, embroidered mantles, and plumed hats.

The infantry, being ranged in a single line on each side of the street, had not solidity enough to resist the pressure of an impetuous and compact



crowd. Some soldiers were thrown down ; the others formed themselves into platoons ; the cannoneers loaded their pieces, and lighted their matches. The cavalry drew their sabres, and advanced in the openings of the streets.

This calm demonstration of forethought and strength was sufficient to suppress the tumult, and disperse the crowd, without a single drop of blood being shed. At the very first sign of the disturbance, the General-in-chief hurried from the Palace of the Inquisition to the church, entered the vestry, seized the officiating prelate, and led him back to the altar. "What are you afraid of?" said he to the priests and nobles. "Am not I among you? Look at my soldiers ; see how firm they are. Be calm and confident like them."

Junot rallied the fragments of the train, and ordered the procession to be recommenced. He followed the canopy on foot, with the members of his government and his staff officers. Twice during the march symptoms of disorder were renewed. In the adjacent streets, men of sinister countenances ran about yelling, to disturb the procession. It, however, was concluded with decency. On his return to his head-quarters, amidst throngs of people, the Duke again heard, and perhaps for the last time, a few voices exclaiming, "Viva o Duque de Abrantes! Viva o nosso Duque!"

At the very moment when the streets of Lisbon echoed with the cries of "The English are landing!"



Here are the English !” a corps of six thousand soldiers of that nation, commanded by Major-general Spencer, was advancing by sea, from Gibraltar to the mouth of the Tagus. Its approach had for some days been announced, by signals on the coast of Algarve, and the manœuvres of Admiral Cotton's squadron indicated offensive projects. For the last fortnight the communication had been cut off with Spain, which was known to be all in combustion. Then came, one on the back of the other, the insurrections of Braganza, Oporto, Coimbra, Leiria, Villa Viçosa, and Beja. The ancients gave fame a hundred voices : in popular risings she has a thousand. The accounts from the North were exaggerated even to absurdity. Loison had been defeated, taken, and put in chains, by Sepulveda. Fifty thousand armed Portuguese were marching on Lisbon, followed by twenty thousand Spaniards ; and, besides these, an immense number of English were disembarked in a score of different places.

There was however, in reality, quite sufficient danger to demand all the solicitude of the leader of the French army. He requested Admiral Sinavin to send on shore, and place at his disposal, a few hundred men of the crews of his vessels ; if not as an effective succour, at least to impress on the minds of the Portuguese what a close alliance there was between the French and the Russians. But the Admiral coolly replied, that his Emperor was not at war with Portugal. The Duke of Abrantes now

determined to keep garrisons only in Almeida, Peniche, Abrantes, and Elvas, and to concentrate his army round Lisbon ; but, however compact this concentration might be, still it was necessary to take care not to be hemmed in with the Tagus in the rear.

Before combating the popular sedition with the sword, the Duke of Abrantes tried the effect of less murderous arms against it : he caused it to be anathematised. In a charge, published by the Patriarchal Chapter, the faithful were told, that it was a crime against God to oppose the great and invincible Napoleon, a crime punishable by the greater excommunication, independent of the legal penalties to be inflicted by the temporal power. At the same time commissioners were despatched from Lisbon, to speak, on the part of the General-in-chief, the language of conciliation to the Portuguese revoltors ; promising that, if the people would return to obedience, every thing should be forgotten ; announcing that the Emperor had remitted one-half of the war contribution, and insinuating, that even of the other half the full payment might, perhaps, not be exacted. José Diego Mascarenhas, a judge, and a native of Algarve, was chosen to perform this task among his fellow-countrymen. He was unable to proceed farther than Alcaçer do Sal, being driven back by the fury of the population ; although no one could be more fit than he was to conciliate, in consequence of the nobleness of his character. A more

important personage was sent into the North; it was Pedro de Mello Bragner, minister for the home department, and president of the supreme tribunal of Oporto. His principal influence lay in the province of the Minho, in which were his family and estates. He would infallibly have exerted that influence, to obtain his pardon from the insurgents for having, till then, appeared to make common cause with the enemies of Portugal; but he could not accomplish his design. In the neighbourhood of Leiria, the peasants arrested him, as an agent of the French, treated him in the roughest manner, and, in spite of his remonstrances, compelled him to return to Lisbon.

It was now become necessary to resort to force. Brigadier-General Margaron was despatched from head-quarters with two battalions, four select companies, two squadrons, and six pieces of cannon. On the morning of the 4th of July, intelligence reached Leiria that the French were advancing, by the way of Rio Major. This was like an electric shock to the population, whose zeal was by this time beginning to abate in its enthusiasm. The magistrates and the military leaders held a council upon the occasion. The Alcade mor, Rodrigo Barba, a retired Colonel of cavalry, was appointed Governor. Isidore Dos Santos Ferreira, Colonel of the militia, harangued the soldiers. Manuel Triguerras, the Captain mor, called in the *Ordenanças* from all quarters. A solemn Te Deum was sung



by the bishops. The people carried the Portuguese standard about the streets, with huzzas and continual acclamations. Their southern imaginations reproached the enemy for coming too slowly.

Night came, and courage began to cool. The governor, the bishop, the magistrates, and a great number of the heroes of the day before, took flight. There remained in the place but a thousand unorganized men, of whom only two hundred had muskets, and not the whole of those had cartridges. About one in the afternoon the French made their appearance. Believing that he should have to contend with regular troops, Margaron formed his brigade in order of battle, with his artillery in the centre, and his wings pushed forward to the right and left, for the purpose of surrounding the city. Some musket-shots were fired, and the peasantry ran away. The French pursued them in the place, and killed all the armed men whom they could come up with; having themselves, in this affair, only one man slain, and two wounded.

From Leiria, the column of French troops proceeded to Thomar. Frightened, but not repentant, this town submitted, and obtained its pardon, through the intercession of Timothy Verdier, a Frenchman, who had a manufactory there. It was treated with kindness.

The march of General Margaron on Leiria had for its object, not only to obtain correct ideas relative to the insurrection of the North of Portugal,



but also to procure intelligence with respect to General Loison. It was known, though indistinctly, that he was still somewhere in Upper Beira. He was ordered to return to the Tagus. Twenty copies of this order were sent to him, by every mode of conveyance that could be found. Of all these messengers only one reached him.

Loison blew up a part of the walls of fort Conception. For Almeida he allotted a garrison of twelve hundred men, composed of such soldiers as seemed to be least capable of enduring fatigue. He then, on the 4th of July, began his march through the rich valleys of Cova de Beira, and the barren mountains of the comarca of Castello Branco. It was a march through an enemy's country. The towns, the villages, had all just carried into effect their revolution against the French; and, warmed by the fervour of recent emotion, the most timid fancied themselves changed into lions. At Guarda, an episcopal city, situated in a precipitous situation, which commands the circumjacent country, the inhabitants brought down from their ancient dismantled castle, an old piece of iron cannon, which had been there for centuries. They placed it in a waggon, and stationed it in the avenue by which the French approached. This impotent bravado, and a straggling fire of musketry, drew down the anger of the soldiers on their dwellings, which were plundered. Loison spared the manufacturing town of Covilhao. It was not on his road, but there issued from it armed peasants, who

assassinated the unfortunate soldiers whom exhaustion, occasioned by the heat, compelled to lag behind. The inhabitants of Truidão and the neighbouring villages had taken flight. Those of Atalaya, commanded by their rector, endeavoured to dispute the passage. Their boldness arose from the circumstance of Joas Pedro Libeira de Carvalho, the juiz de fora of Alpedrinha, being then, with the assistance of his captain mor, raising a levy in mass in the mountains, at a distance of half a league. Brigadier-general Charlaud, with two battalions, marched against this assemblage, dispersed it before he came up with it, and overtook some of the fugitives in the defilé of Alcongosta, among whom was the captain mor, who was left on the field. Severe as these lessons were, there was no reason to hope that they would produce any beneficial effect. The French met with no resistance at Sarzedas, Cartigada, Macao, and Sardao. Not that the population was less hostile, but it was less collected together, and men had not acquired boldness by communicating to each other their identity of feeling. Besides, the troops were approaching Abrantes, in which town there was a garrison. Loison's corps arrived there on the 11th of July, having lost, in this military and toilsome march, only two hundred men, in killed, wounded, and missing.

The concentration of the troops of Alemtejo on Lisbon had been effected with less bustle. The Spaniards had received reinforcements in their



camp of San Cristoval, before Badajos. Don Federico Morelli, a Lieutenant-colonel, commanded there a foreign legion, composed almost wholly of Portuguese deserters. After the unfortunate combats of Villa Viçosa and Beja, he was desirous to reinvigorate the public spirit in Alemtejo, and accordingly, with two hundred men of the foreign legion, and some hussars of the Estremadura regiment, he took post at Jerumenha, a small town, situated on the right bank of the Guadiana. This was a rallying point for the zealous individuals of the province. General Kellerman, who commanded in Alemtejo, ordered this position to be reconnoitred. He also sent out several reconnoitring parties on Badajoz. A detachment of French dragoons carried off, in one instance, the Spanish main guard on the Caya. Another detachment charged a squadron of Maria Louisa, and pursued the hussars to the bridge head of the Guadiana, where a sentinel was sabred on the glacis.

Though Badajoz is looked upon as one of the best fortresses in the South of Spain, there was a momentary intention of attempting to take it by escalade. General Kellerman, with that view, collected a number of ladders at Elvas. The French were so well acquainted with the place, that there was a reasonable hope of success. It was known that the curtains of the South fronts, near the Guadiana, were low and easily accessible. In the city there was nothing but disorder and confusion. Those

who defended it had not foresight enough to anticipate a night attack on the side of the Guadiana, which was opposite to their camp of San Cristoval, in which quarter only they expected the enemy. But the order of concentration obliged Kellermann to relinquish his project. He repaired and fully armed and victualled the forts of La Lippe and Santa Lucia, on which the defence of Elvas depends. The artillery, arms, and ammunition, which were in the other places of the province, were transported thither. Then calling in the troops formerly stationed in Algarve, which, after the combat of Beja, had established themselves at Evora, he directed his course to Lisbon. The brigade of General Graindorge was the only one remaining on the left bank of the Tagus, occupying the comarca of Setubal, which forms a part of Portuguese Estremadura.

The troops of Alemtejo and Beira were scarcely returned to the Tagus before a new alarm gave occasion to a fresh expedition. To watch the English movements in the Burling Isles, some small French posts had been stationed on the opposite coast, from San Martinho to the point of Nossa Senhora de Nazareth, and some miserable batteries had been thrown up, which were served by Portuguese cannoneers. One day, the fortlet of Nazareth, which was the principal of these batteries, was taken, and twenty men came running out of breath, from San Martinho to Peniche, to announce that the Portuguese cannoneers had revolted, and that their comrades



were assassinated. Peniche and its peninsula were held by Brigadier-general Thomières, with a garrison which consisted of a battalion of the fifty-eighth, a detachment of artillery, and fifty dragoons. His force, therefore, was not sufficient to allow of his sending a reconnoitring party as far as Nazareth without stripping his fortress; but he proceeded to Obidos, whence he sent a conciliatory message to the Abbot-general of the Bernardines of Alcobaca, the temporal lord and spiritual father of the country, who had till then been the obsequious servant of the French. No answer was given to the message, and it produced no effect on the peasants, who assembled in arms, obstructed the bridges, and cut up the roads. English officers and soldiers were seen among them, by the emissaries of Thomières. The general wrote that ten thousand men of that nation had landed at Nazareth, and that fifteen hundred Portuguese were come from Coimbra to join them, and march together against Lisbon.

This took place a few days after Margaron had evacuated Leiria. For a month past, there had been vague rumours, relative to different expeditions which were fitting out in the English ports. Convoys of transport vessels had several times been seen to appear and disappear at the mouth of the Tagus. The Duke of Abrantes, believing in the landing of the English, immediately got ready a corps of troops to drive them into the sea, and to suppress the Portuguese insurrection; and in order

to accomplish this latter purpose it was resolved, if necessary, to push as far as Oporto, and even to cross the Douro.

Thomières quitted Peniche with two battalions, to ascertain what was going on upon the coast between Peniche and Nazareth. General Kellermann marched from Lisbon, by Villa Franca and Alcoentre, on Alcobaca, with the third regiment of dragoons, a train of artillery, and General Brenier's infantry brigade, composed of the seventieth regiment of the line, and a battalion of the fifteenth light. The columns of Brigadier-general Margaron, and of the General-of-division Loison, which were come from Thomar and Abrantes to Santarem, were directed to move to Leiria.

On the approach of Thomières, the defenders of the fort of Nazareth fired several cannon-shot, and then took flight along the sea-beach, and hid themselves in the pine-forest of Leiria. The other columns met with no enemies. The landing, which had been so much talked of, was dwindled down to the sending a few small pieces of cannon from the Burlings to the mainland, by the English. There was no other Portuguese army on this point than a tumultuous assemblage of the fishermen who lived on the coast.

Ten thousand French troops were at this moment united at Leiria. Officers and soldiers were all burning with desire to march and chastise revolt at Coimbra and Oporto. Feelings of devotedness have



a right to our sympathy, and those were assuredly devoted feelings which prompted a nation, at the hazard of life and property, to rise wholly, and as one man, against the invaders of its territory. Yet the Portuguese had so long fawned to the French authority, and now, not from their own impulse, but in imitation of the example of the Spaniards, they had broken out, licentious in their enthusiasm, atrocious in their revenge when they could murder without danger, and quick to fly on hearing the first muskets fired in battle. Such enemies could inspire regular troops with nothing but disgust and horror. Accordingly, in the field there was a falling off in that discipline which had done honour to the French army during the first six months of the occupation, and which was uniformly preserved in quarters. The houses whence shot had been fired were burnt; and, in the melancholy vicissitudes of a war, in which monks were seen marching at the head of battalions, there can be little reason for surprise that, in more than one instance, churches were sacked.

It was now the 18th of July. The intense heat had dried up nearly all the springs, so that not only the Mondego and the Vouga almost everywhere, but also the Douro in several places, were fordable. It would have been easy for the ten thousand men who were collected at Leiria, to carry by assault the miserable fortifications which had been hastily constructed at Coimbra and Oporto. The mere rumour

of their march would have put to the rout the few and badly organized troops of the Supreme Junta. There was nothing to prevent desolation from being spread through the northern provinces of Portugal. But Junot had bowels of compassion; he was fond of the Portuguese. He judged that a sanguinary incursion would be useless to the army, since it could tend only to exasperate still more a population which was already too much so. He recalled the troops from Leiria. Four battalions, with some squadrons of cavalry and cannon, were left at Peniche, Obidos, Rio Mayor, Santarem, and Abrantes, to watch the principal passes on the right bank of the Tagus. The other troops, and particularly those which had been with General Loison, on the expeditions of the Douro and Beira, returned to Lisbon.

Their entrance into that capital produced a strong sensation. They came in boats, having embarked on the Tagus at Santarem. Almost all the inhabitants of that great city thronged to the place of landing, at Commerce Square, to satisfy themselves with their own eyes that *Manéa* (which was the name they gave to General Loison, who had lost an arm,) was not dead: as they had been repeatedly told that both the General and his troops were destroyed. To the Portuguese, ever since the executions at Caldas, Loison was the object of a special and inveterate hatred, which had not been weakened by recent events. It would be wrong to draw, from this circumstance, any rig-



rous conclusions against the life and character of that general-officer. The opinion which a conquered people forms of military leaders depends less on their personal dispositions, than on the nature of the warlike measures which they are commissioned to execute. Hence it is, that the name of Turenne, which is religiously venerated by the French, is still held in abhorrence in the Palatinate of the Rhine; and in Catalonia, when mothers wished to quiet their noisy and crying children, it is not long since they used to say to them, "Here's Berwick coming!"

The Duke of Abrantes reviewed the troops with great pomp, and almost immediately dispatched them to fight in Alemtejo. At this epoch, every day came big with anxiety, and burthened with tribulation. Affairs were not settled on the North of the Tagus, and it was now necessary to recommence on the South. There was now no question of vague and unproductive operations. The least hesitation in acting according to reasons of state, would have put to hazard the safety of the French army.

In fact, not more than twenty days had elapsed since General Kellermann evacuated Alemtejo, and Alemtejo had already its army. So prompt are the people to undertake that which they wish with a firm and unanimous resolution. Spanish garrisons occupied Castello-de-Vide, and Marvão. The foreign legion of Moretti, at Jerumenha, reckoned a thousand men under arms, and other troops from Badajoz, were stationed in reserve behind it, at Villa

Real. The Portuguese militia was acting against the weak French garrison of Elvas, and invested it so closely, that Colonel Miquel, commandant of that place, going towards dusk, from the city to Fort la Lippe, fell into an ambuscade, and was mortally wounded. Troops poured in from Portalegre, Crato, Avis, Estremoz, and Montemor-Novo; some were satisfied with half pay, others would receive nothing. The Junta of Portalegre raised a battalion of volunteers, which George d'Aviles, a rich gentleman of the town, clothed and equipped at his own expense. The second infantry regiment was re-organising at Castello-de-Vide. In the castle of Estremoz was found a supply of powder, and a great number of muskets, pistols, and sabres, which the French had neglected to destroy. The Junta of that town assembled, and laboured to put upon a good footing the two disbanded regiments, the third and fifteenth. It called to its assistance the cannoneers of the third regiment of artillery, the officers of which were retained by the French in the fort of Elvas. And, that no enthusiasm or courage might be left unemployed, it created new corps of volunteers. Villa Viçosa had formed a company of Miquelets; Evora, also, had horse and foot chasseurs; and from Badajoz there arrived a field train, of five pieces of cannon and a howitzer. Beja, which had been taught by cruel experience the superiority of regular troops over disorderly masses, now organized in battalions the young men and old sol-



diers, and remounted the third cavalry regiment of Olivença. Lastly, eighteen hundred men of the Ordenanças, some tolerably, and some badly armed, raised in the comarca of Ourique, in the districts of Santiago and Grandola, occupied Alcacer do Sal, and lined the left bank of the Saldao, as far as to opposite Setubal. Their ardour was kept alive by the English ships cruizing before that port, and by the Comus frigate, which was off Sinès, where continual landings took place, and a correspondence was kept up with the population.

This was undoubtedly no more than the outline of an army, and an imperfect outline. The organization of it was, however, pushed on in an active and intelligent manner. There was every day an increase of numbers, of moral energy, and of physical strength. The revolvers reckoned upon the near assistance of the kingdom of Algarve, which, having been freed from the French sooner than the other provinces, must consequently have re-organized more troops. Lieutenant-general Francisco de Paula Leite, who was Governor of Alemtejo before the invasion, now resumed his command. The military action was thus centralized; there remained but one step to take, to give also some degree of unity to the civil government. At Evora a Junta was formed; the presidency of which was held in common by the General and the Archbishop of the city. It styled itself the Supreme Junta on this side of the Tagus, and began to be acknowledged as such by the majo-

rity of the other Juntas. Its first act of authority was to summon round it all the organized troops in the province.

The news of the insurrection of the *Tras-os-Montes* and the *Minho*, had reached Lisbon in an indistinct, exaggerated, and half fabulous shape, because, not having occupied those provinces, the French were obliged to trust to official reports for a knowledge of what was passing in them, and when those reports failed them, they were left in as utter ignorance of every thing as if they had been a thousand leagues from the head of the government. It was not so with respect to *Alemtejo*, where a residence of some months had established various kinds of connexion between the troops and the inhabitants. The Duke of *Abrantes* was informed of the springing up and progress of this new hostile force, and he saw at once the extent of the danger. If it were allowed to exist, a day would come when, the English having landed to the north of the *Tagus*, the French would be pressed at once on both banks of that river. The sole reason which made the Spaniards inflame and direct the rising of *Alemtejo*, was to bring about the prompt deliverance of their countrymen, who were crowded in the prison ships. It was necessary to march straightforward and boldly to *Evora*, as the arsenal of the insurrection, and the seat of its government. In consequence, Loison passed the *Tagus*, on the 25th of July, at the head of eight thousand men. His corps was composed of the three batta-



lions of the twelfth and fifteenth light, and of the Hanoverian legion, of the fifty-eighth and fifty-ninth of the line, of the fourth and fifth provisional regiments of dragoons, forming two brigades under Generals Solignac and Margaron, of a reserve of two battalions of grenadiers, led by Major Saint Claire, and of eight pieces of cannon, commanded by Colonel d'Aboville, of the Artillery.

The Junta of Evora raised the cry of alarm, and summoned to its aid all the organized troops in Alemtejo. Evora is the third city in Portugal. Its population, in ordinary times, is fifteen thousand; but it now contained more than five and twenty thousand, in consequence of the great number of men that had flocked in from the villages, to take part in the common defence. The city is situated on the last ramifications of the Serra d'Ossa, which is an aggregation of the highest points whence the waters flow, in opposite directions, towards the Guadiana, the Saldão, and the Tagus. It was inhabited of old by the Romans, who have left there some monuments of their greatness. The walls with which it was enclosed by Sertorius fell into complete ruin in the seventeenth century, and were replaced by a bastioned envelope, the construction of the French engineer Allain Mallet. Since the ancient wars with Spain, these works had ceased to be kept up, so that in many places the parapet was obliterated, and in others the masonry had fallen down. The principal breaches were hastily cleared and entrenched. Of

the five city gates, four were stopped up by barricades made of earth and stones.

The corps of Loison, marching in the heat of the dog-days through the sandy plains on the left bank of the Tagus, advanced but slowly. It proceeded on the 26th to Peguens, on the 27th to Vendas Novas, on the 28th to Montemor-Novo. At the latter place, its advanced guard fell in with a detachment of fifteen hundred Portuguese, stationed there to watch the French movements, and which fell back in disorder on the main body, after having lost a hundred men. At eight in the morning of the 29th, the French were seen ready to rush upon Evora.

At that very moment the Spanish corps from Jerumenha, three thousand strong, arrived in that city; it consisted of the foreign legion, a battalion of provincial grenadiers, and a battalion of newly raised chasseurs. The hussar regiment of Maria Louisa, and two batteries of cannon, the one served by foot artillery-men, the other by horse artillery-men, had marched in on the preceding evening. The volunteers of Estremoz, some platoons of the regiments of infantry and militia, and the Miquelets of Villa Viçosa, were the only troops which had time to obey the summons of the Junta. Portuguese and Spaniards together, with what was already at Evora, they constituted a force of five thousand men, not including the disorderly mass of those who were come to fight, though they did not belong to any of the regular corps.



The Portuguese general, Leite, and the Spanish colonel, Moretti, ranged their little army in battle on the heights, eight hundred fathoms in front of the city, from the mill of Saint Benedict, across the eminence of Saint Caetan, as far as the quinta dos *cucos*, near the old ruined castle of Evora. This position was defended by ten pieces of cannon and two howitzers. The principal force of the infantry was established on the right. The Spanish foreign legion was formed, as a reserve, behind the centre. In the rear of the left was drawn up the Spanish and Portuguese cavalry; this was almost entirely composed of officers.

About eleven o'clock, the Hispano-Portuguese artillery and sharp-shooters opened their fire, which was replied to by the artillery and sharp-shooters of the French. General Loison reconnoitred the position, and instantly adopted the only manœuvre which could be serviceable against the kind of enemy whom he had to encounter. He sent towards the right his first brigade, ordering General Solignac to pass beyond the enemy's flank, turn round the city on the south side, keeping close to it, and extend as far as the Estremoz road. From his left, he pushed forward the fifty-eighth of Margaron's brigade on the road of Arrayolos, directing the cavalry to move onward till it joined Solignac's brigade.

The movement being commenced, the eighty-sixth regiment was formed in column, and supported

at a distance by the reserve, led at the charging step, by its colonel, Lacroix, against the centre of the enemy's line. The greatest part of the Portuguese infantry, composed of soldiers collected within a few days, immediately dispersed. The Spanish and Portuguese cavalry took flight, without having struck a blow, and Leite, the general-in-chief, fled into Spain along with it. Seven pieces of cannon were taken on the field of battle. The five others were conveyed to the city by the Spanish infantry, which, led by Moretti, its colonel, and by Major Don Antonio Muria Gallejo, of the foreign legion, made a better resistance than the rest.

Evora, however, still remained to be taken. Colonel Antonio Lobo rallied the fragments of the Portuguese infantry, and placed cannon in battery to defend the Rocio-gate, the only one which was not walled up. The ramparts were covered with monks, citizens, and peasants, who uttered loud yells, embarrassed each other with their pikes, and fired muskets at the French. The Spaniards, drawn up in mass in the streets, encouraged by their presence this multitude of madmen. It was soon attacked, hand to hand, by General Solignac, on the side of the old castle, and on the fronts of Elvas by General Margaron, who followed the course of the Roman aqueduct. The soldiers pressed forward in the badly repaired breaches. Some stuck their bayonets into the walls, to serve as ladders. Others got into the city through drains and old posterns. Lieu-



tenant Spinola, of the engineers, a native of Genoa, and an officer of General Solignac's staff, were killed in the attack; Descragnolles, another aid-de-camp of that general, was wounded while performing prodigies of valour. The assailants were quickly engaged in close combat with the Spaniards, while the Portuguese fired on them from the ramparts, steeples, windows, gates, roofs, and houses. General Loison was obliged to break open with cannon-shot, and to remove by men's labour, the barricades of the gates, in order that he might send columns into the city, to support the brave men who had effected an entrance. The Portuguese lieutenant-colonel of artillery, Domingos Gallejo, was made prisoner. A great number of Spaniards escaped, who were able to reach the Estremoz road, before the French dragoons could arrive there. The Portuguese were not so lucky. They lost more than two thousand men on the field of battle, on the ramparts, and, especially, in the streets of Evora. The pillage and slaughter lasted several hours; at length, the archbishop, Father Manuel do Cenacolo Villas Boas, obtained mercy from the victor. After severely reproaching this prelate with the dreadful consequences of a revolt which his episcopal character had authorised and sanctioned, General Loison entrusted him with the administration of the city. This day, so bloody to the insurgents, cost the French a hundred men killed, and twice that number wounded.

The sacking of Evora rang throughout Lisbon; great and small, rich and poor, all were associated with the insurrection by their feelings and wishes, while waiting to bear a part in it in arms. This hostile disposition was heightened by the still increasing distress. Those inhabitants who were in easy circumstances emigrated in crowds to the provinces of the kingdom which were no longer contaminated by the presence of foreigners. Lisbon resembled a desert; no more luxury, no more carriages, no more bustle in the streets. The disturbances in the provinces had raised the price of provisions in the metropolis; orders were no longer given to the workmen. The landed proprietors had ceased to receive their rents, and the people in office their salaries. All who formerly drew their means of existence from the court, from the *fidalgos*, from the clergy, and from the commercial classes, all these were reduced to ask for alms: these were more than twenty thousand. The French authorities tried to put a stop to this emigration, which was far more active and contagious than the emigration to Brazil was, when Junot first occupied Portugal. Persons were forbidden to quit Lisbon without a passport; as if it were possible to keep the inhabitants imprisoned in an immense city, which has neither walls nor gates, and of which the outskirts are scattered over the mountains and valleys, without its being possible to discover where the country begins, and where Lisbon ends. These emigrants, as had been done with



respect to the first, were summoned to return by a particular day; in default of which, their property would be confiscated, and their relations imprisoned; they and their relations laughed at Junot's decree, being thoroughly convinced that, before the expiration of the allotted term, their native land would be delivered. The inhabitants of the towns and country were ordered to give up all arms in their possession; and this tardy disarming, which was never effected except in Lisbon and the neighbouring villages, brought into the arsenal a few hundred fowling pieces, while thousands of muskets had been neglected and abandoned in the territory occupied by the insurgents. The usual bonfires and crackers before the churches on the eve of great festivals, were prohibited; and this prohibition caused it to be reported, over and over again, in every house, what numerous crackers, and what splendid bonfires had celebrated the restoration, at Oporto, at Coimbra, and in Algarve. The Lisbon official gazette was filled with accounts of the reinforcements which had entered Spain by the way of Bayonne and Catalonia, under the orders of Marshal Lannes, who was well known to the Portuguese. They were told of the victories gained by the French at Saragossa, Valencia, and Cordova. They replied, with the Spanish gazettes, that Saragossa held out; that Monecy had failed before Valencia; that Dupont and his army were prisoners of war; and that the same fate would befall Junot and the army of Portu-

gal, before the French reinforcements would have time to cross the Pyrenees.

Popular passions do not long rest satisfied with wishes and hopes. After the fruitless attempt of the procession of Corpus Christi, many efforts were made to inflame the population. On Sunday, the 24th of July, at the moment when the faithful were coming out from mass, a madman showed himself at the door of one of the principal churches, armed with a pike, which was ornamented with blue and red ribands, and having round his hat the words, *Viva o Portugal! Viva o Principe Regente nosso Senhor!* A French patrol, happening to pass by, dispersed the crowd, and seized the man who had collected it together. It was discovered that he had been dressed and put forward in this manner, to produce a manifestation of public opinion: he was tried by a military commission and shot.

On the same day, there was found, upon the high altar of the patriarchal church, an egg, on the shell of which there was very distinctly written, in strong colour, *Mora os Francesos*. This prophetic egg was taken to the head-quarters. The Duke of Abrantes ordered a great number of eggs to be brought before the Portuguese. On the shell of each of them was traced, with greasy matter, the inscription *Vive l'Empereur!* These eggs were then dipped into an acid. In the course of a few minutes, the inscriptions were visible, in strong colour, on all the shells,



as on the patriarchal egg. The greatest publicity was given to this counter-miracle. The eggs were conspicuously placed on the high altars of all the churches in Lisbon.

It was less easy for the French to refute the irritating proclamations, which, in spite of all their vigilance, were posted up every night, in twenty parts of the city. But, to deaden the immediate effect of them, the General-in-chief calculated, and with reason, upon an occult influence, which was placed out of the sphere of action of his own police. After the French had obliterated the government, the ensigns, and almost the name, of Portugal, there was formed at Lisbon, by the exertions of the active octogenarian José de Scabra, an association, the members of which bound themselves to each other by oath, to employ their united efforts to restore the country, and to replace the family of Braganza on the throne. All that remained at Lisbon of opulent fidalgos, of officers of superior rank, and of eminent individuals of the regular and secular clergy, eagerly entered into it. There also joined it some officers of the police guard, merchants, and even Portuguese, whom their functions connected with the government of General Junot. The society became so numerous, that it was obliged to concentrate itself, and to place itself under the management of a committee, which was called the Conservative Council of Lisbon. The title alone indicated pacific conspirators. The committee began by opening a correspondence

with the English squadron, with the Russian squadron, with the leaders of the Spanish troops, and subsequently, with the chiefs of the Portuguese insurrection in the provinces. Those daring projects, which burst forth every day among men impatient of a foreign yoke, and those calmer combinations, which are justified by the disposition of the country, came equally under the consideration of the committee; and the committee never failed to thwart whatever it had not originated, and to employ the partial conspiracies in the general conspiracy which it claimed the right of directing. This general conspiracy meanwhile, bold in words and timid in actions, still went on under the eye, and sometimes under the invisible influence, of the French general. It proceeded slowly and cautiously; in a word, in a manner suited to rich and influential men, determined, sooner or later, to accomplish their purpose, and without risking their persons or their property.

It was now impossible to reckon upon the assistance, or even the neutrality, of the smallest fraction of the Portuguese nation. Some ecclesiastics of Beja, Leiria, and Evora, who, fulfilling their sublime ministry of peace, had interposed between the victors and the vanquished, and, with the view of stopping the effusion of blood, had for a moment accepted public functions from the French generals, had by that very step incurred suspicion; and the respect which is paid to the episcopal character, did not, at a subsequent period, prevent the Archbishop



of Evora from being imprisoned by order of a subordinate Junta. The public hatred was, of course, still more strongly directed against such Portuguese as had committed themselves by remaining too perseveringly attached to the government and person of the Duke of Abrantes. The merchants of the French factory, which had been so long established at Lisbon, had reason to fear that they should at length suffer by the same catastrophes which, in the Spanish cities, had overwhelmed their fellow-countrymen, who were in the same situation. Some of them joined those whom commercial speculations had brought hither with the army, and formed, as guards to the General-in-chief, a fine company of horse volunteers, of which Bastiat, a Bayonne merchant, was made captain.

The garrison of Lisbon was a model of order and discipline. The general-officers let no opportunity pass of showing it to the people. It was frequently exercised in firing, in the Campo d'Ourique, the spot where it was usually assembled. The quiet of the capital was secured, as long as it contained a great number of troops. Measures were resolved on, to obtain the same degree of security, in case the army should be compelled to leave no more than one or two battalions for the defence of the metropolis.

Of the old fortifications of Lisbon, there remains nothing but the ruined and shapeless fronts on the side of Alcantara, and an antique castle in the centre of the city, which still bears the name of the Moors'

Castle, because it was built during the period of their domination. It crowns the summit of the highest of the seven hills, on which, like ancient Rome, this city is seated. Its wall of masonry, thick and not terraced, is flanked only by salient towers. Its cannon closely overlook and plunge down on the most populous streets and squares. The French put it into a defensible state. Several houses, which were built against the wall, were pulled down. Thither were conveyed a supply of water, a hundred thousand rations of biscuit, and the arms, which, from time immemorial, had never been out of the arsenal. Cannon and mortars were also sent into the castle. The terrified Portuguese imagined that a shower of bombs was about to be poured down upon their dwellings.

General Junot had also an idea of establishing an entrenched camp on the bare eminence which, in the eastern part of the city, stretches from the convent of Graça, towards Nossa Senhora do Monte. It was a mere flitting idea, such as occurs to a penetrating but indolent mind. In fact, his foresight never contemplated the plan of a methodical campaign in the interior, and on the land frontier of Portugal, such as he might one day be under the necessity of making, either to wait for reinforcements, or to retreat into Spain. That campaign would have been possible, and even easy, had provisions and ammunition been stored beforehand in the fortresses of Alemtejo, and especially in Abrantes, which its admirable position



behind the Zezere, and guarding both banks of the Tagus, points out as the commanding fortress of Portugal. But, according to the generally-received ideas, Portugal was in Lisbon, and Lisbon was in itself the whole of Portugal. To see the works undertaken since the arrival of the French, and which were still continued, it might have been supposed that they could not be attacked but by fleets, and that the river was the only road by which they could be reached. The moment, however, was at hand, when the fate of the country was to be decided on another field of battle.

The army was very far from dreading that combat; it was confident in its leader, and careless of the future. The conscripts had become inured to war by their rapid campaigns against the insurgents. These insurgents, even had there been two hundred thousand of them, would never have been sufficient to overcome the twenty thousand French soldiers of Junot. This the Portuguese knew, and their earnest and constant prayers invoked an army of liberators. From the summits of all the promontories, at the mouths of the rivers, they were seen casting their eager glances over the immensity of the ocean. At last, on the 29th of July, there arrived in Mondego Bay a numerous fleet of transports, the signals and manœuvres of which seemed to indicate that it was preparing to effect a landing. On board of that fleet was an English army.



Preparations of England to support the insurrection in the Peninsula—The expedition to Portugal is entrusted to Sir Arthur Wellesley—He effects a landing on both sides of the mouth of the Mondego—Difficult situation of the French army—Siniavin, the Russian Admiral, refuses to co-operate in any manner—General Delaborde marches against the English—Junction of the English and Portuguese armies—The English march alone on Roliça—Skilful dispositions of General Delaborde—Combat of Roliça—Retreat of General Delaborde—He takes up a position at Cabeça de Montachique—The General-in-chief takes the field—General Travot is appointed Commandant of Lisbon—Assembling of the army at Torres-Vedras—Strength of the French army—The English army occupies a position at Vimeiro—The Duke of Abrantes marches against the enemy—Battle of Vimeiro—Retreat of the French army on Torres-Vedras—The General-in-chief holds a council of war—General Kellermann is sent to the English head-quarters—He succeeds in concluding an armistice—Rupture of the armistice—Energetic resolution of Junot—Convention of Cintra—The French evacuate Portugal, and are landed in France, at La Rochelle, Quiberon, and L'Orient.

## BOOK IX.

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### THE INVASION OF PORTUGAL.

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THE campaign which we are about to narrate lasted but twenty days. It was not distinguished, among the others by the splendour of the military events, and still less by the number of soldiers which were brought into action; it will, nevertheless, be for ever memorable, as marking the commencement of a new and more animated struggle between Great Britain and France. For fifteen years the Cabinet of St. James's had ceased to send its armies to carry on a regular war upon the Continent. Reserving the English soldiers for expeditions immediately connected with the employment of its naval forces, it attacked France only by means of the wars and conspiracies which it hired against her. There would have been nothing to induce it to change this system of policy, had the Spaniards and Portuguese peaceably accepted the yoke of the Emperor Napoleon.

In the month of November, 1807, a corps of six thousand men, under the orders of Major-general



Brent Spencer, was assembled at Portsmouth, for the purpose of reinforcing the English army in Sicily, which had been weakened by the recent expedition to Alexandria. It was intended also to make use of it in seizing the Portuguese and the Russian fleets, which were in the Tagus. But the departure of the Prince Regent to Brazil, and the arrival of the French at Lisbon, caused this scheme to be abandoned. Spencer's corps proceeded to Gibraltar.

This was an intermediate station between Sicily, the first object of the expedition, and Portugal, now in the hands of the French. Other French troops crossed the Pyrenees and inundated the Peninsula. The Cabinet of St. James's was far from anticipating the resistance of the Spaniards. For a moment, the corps of Spencer was destined to capture Ceuta and the other presidencies on the African coast. At the same time, embarkations of troops were making in the British ports, with the intention of sending them to Spanish America. The English had to avenge the insult which they had received at Buenos Ayres. It was also of consequence to them to deprive Spain of the assistance of her colonies, as soon as Spain had fallen under the unlimited power of France.

In the meanwhile, the English squadrons invested the Spanish Peninsula. Admiral Sir Charles Cotton, who was charged with the blockade of the Portuguese coast, kept always in sight of Lisbon.

and dispatched light vessels to cruise at the mouths of the Douro and the Mondego, between the Bur-lings and Peniche, off Pombal and Sinès, and along the shores of Algarve. His special mission was, to rouse the country, and this he accomplished by his secret correspondence and his proclamations. Early in the month of June, 1808, the discontent of the Portuguese appearing to be on the point of breaking out into a general rising against the French army, Admiral Cotton sent for the corps of Spencer, that, in concert with him, it might carry by a sudden attack the forts on the Tagus, and the city of Lisbon, which he supposed to be stripped of troops. Spencer arrived a few days after the rising which was attempted during the procession of Corpus Christi. Finding that the French were numerous and watchful, he returned to Gibraltar.

Spain was then awakening from its long slumber. We have seen, in the fourth book, with what sympathetic effervescence its first efforts against the French were applauded at London, and with what profusion arms and money were supplied. Lieutenant-general Sir Hew Dalrymple, who commanded at Gibraltar, despatched the corps of Major-general Spencer to Cadiz, to be at the disposal of the Junta of Seville. Another corps, of nine thousand men, was hastily assembled at Cork in Ireland, intended, according to circumstances, either to second the exertions of the Spaniards, or to attack the French in the Tagus.

The command of this corps was entrusted to Sir Arthur Wellesley, the same who has since been called Lord Wellington. He was forty years of age, and of a robust frame. He was known in his own country as a man of resolution, who had been used to war on a small scale, in the Indian campaigns, while his brother, the Marquis of Wellesley, was Governor-general. He had been promoted, about two months before, to the rank of Lieutenant-general, after the short campaign of Copenhagen, in which he had distinguished himself at the head of a brigade. In his capacity of Irish Secretary of State, Sir Arthur formed a part of the ministry. He belonged, by the violence of his political principles, to the system of government of Pitt, continued and exaggerated by that statesman's successors, Perceval and Castlereagh.

The nine thousand men embarked at Cork put to sea on the 12th of July. On the 20th, they were off Corunna. The army of Galicia had recently been defeated at Rio Seco; yet the Junta of Corunna declared to General Wellesley, that it did not stand in need of the assistance of an English army. It advised him to land in Portugal, and drive the French out of that kingdom. Sir Arthur continued his voyage. He shortened sail off Oporto, and had a conference there, with the bishop and the leading men of the country, who promised to second the British troops by the co-operation of a Portuguese army, and, besides, to supply him abundantly

with provisions and the means of conveyance. He, therefore, gave orders to the convoy to stop at the mouth of the Mondego. This point of disembarkation, the most suitable, both as regarded the goodness of the anchorage and the military operations which were to ensue, was suggested by Sir Charles Cotton, whose forethought had led him to occupy, with a garrison of marines, the fort of Figueira, which commands the bay. Sir Arthur proceeded to the bar of Lisbon, to concert his measures with the Admiral. From thence he sent orders to General Spencer, to sail to Figueira, where, on the 30th of July, he himself rejoined his convoy, which had arrived on the preceding evening.

Important despatches had just been received from England. Whenever fresh intelligence arrived from Spain, a fresh explosion of enthusiasm took place in London. The British cabinet perceived that it had not yet expeditions enough to satisfy the public feeling, which was in unison with the solid interests of the country. The co-operation of the active forces of England must be proportioned to the growing and unhoped-for energy of the Spanish nation. It resolved, therefore, to send to the assistance of the Peninsula all the disposable troops which were on the territory, or in the ports of England; namely, eight battalions assembled at Ramsgate, under the orders of Brigadier-general Anstruther, and five which General Acland commanded at Harwich: eleven thousand men, who




were on their way home from the Baltic, led by Sir John Moore, received the same destination. These forces, joined to the two expeditions which had already sailed, and some battalions expected from Gibraltar and Madeira, would form a total of thirty-three thousand men, including the artillery and eighteen hundred cavalry. Sir Arthur Wellesley, being the junior lieutenant-general on the army list, could not retain the command in chief. This was given to Sir Hew Dalrymple, who, in his government of Gibraltar, had been on exceedingly good terms with the Spanish authorities. Lieutenant-general Sir Harry Burrard, one of the leaders of the unfortunate expedition to Ostend in 1798, was sent from England to act as second in command.

On the point of being only the third in rank, after having embarked at Cork as General-in-chief, Sir Arthur Wellesley hastened to land the troops on both sides of the mouth of the Mondego. The westerly gales, the swell of the sea, the steepness of the coast to the North near Boarcos, the shoals to the South near Lavoos, all ran counter to the impatience of the General. The disembarkation was tedious, and cost the lives of several English sailors and soldiers. While it was executing, the Portuguese army, commanded by Bernardin Freire, arrived at Coimbra, to the number of seven thousand infantry and six hundred cavalry. This was the whole amount of organized troops that had been produced in six weeks, by the insurrection of the

northern provinces, and the efforts of the Supreme Junta of Oporto. Even of these soldiers the greatest part had no muskets; these were, however, supplied by Sir Arthur Wellesley. In a conference which the English general had with the Portuguese generals, on the 7th, at Montemor-o-Velho, it was decided, that the two armies should march straight on Lisbon, while a corps, formed of the soldiers and militia of Tras-os-Montes and Beira, commanded by Major-general Manuel Pinto Baccellar, should march, by Viseu and Castello Franco, towards Abrantes, to watch the movements of the French, in case they should endeavour to retire into Spain by that route; for among the instructions given to Sir Arthur Wellesley, his government had recommended to him, in the event of his landing in Portugal, not only to drive the French from Lisbon, but also to cut off their retreat into Spain.

While this was going on, the corps of General Spencer had reached Mondego Bay, and as soon as it had effected its landing at Lavoos, the English army began its march, on the 9th of August; it consisted of thirteen thousand three hundred infantry, two hundred horse, and eighteen pieces of artillery. It had an abundance of cartridges for the infantry, and seventeen days' bread, namely three days in the soldiers' knapsacks, and the rest carried on mules. The troops arrived on the 10th and 11th at Leiria; the Portuguese army reached that place on the 12th, coming from Coimbra, by the route of Pombal.

Crowds of peasants flocked from the neighbouring villages, to satisfy themselves with their own eyes that the English were really come, and to greet them with affectionate acclamations. The enthusiasm spread rapidly to Lisbon. The greatest part of the legion of police, which had hitherto continued faithful to the French, now passed over to the insurgents. The proclamations of General Wellesley and Admiral Cotton were widely distributed, and were read with avidity. For Portugal it was the day of deliverance, and for the French the signal of the catastrophe. It had already commenced in Spain. The victory gained at Rio Seco, on the 14th, by Marshal Bessières, came like a flash of lightning to revive their hopes. But the defeat and capitulation of General Dupont at Andujar were previously known; and that well ascertained disaster, of which no doubt could be entertained, absorbed the insignificant advantages which might result from the victory. The Duke of Abrantes soon learned that King Joseph had been obliged to abandon Madrid, a few days after having made his royal entrance into it, and that the Emperor's army was retreating on the Ebro. Thus, twenty thousand French were about to be assailed by the whole Portuguese nation, by fleets, by armies, by fourteen thousand English, whom twenty thousand more were to follow; and if they endeavoured to join such of their comrades as were nearest to them, they had to march two hundred leagues through an enemy's country, to cross broad chains



of mountains and wide rivers, and to fight with victorious armies. The ten thousand Greeks of Xenophon were in a less difficult situation, when, closely pursued by the hosts of the great King, they strove to return to their native land through the territories of the barbarians.

An especial duty was imposed on the French army by the opinion which it had itself formed. The General-in-chief was accustomed to consider Lisbon, and the fleet in the Tagus, as a deposit, which must not be abandoned without having previously tried the chance of a battle. Though the Emperor had not given any positive orders on this subject, either before or since the disturbances in Spain, the General looked upon himself as responsible to him for this deposit. Had any one proposed to evacuate Portugal, while there existed the slightest probability of reaching the Ebro without sustaining a considerable loss, the proposal would have been scouted by the unanimous feeling of the army. Preparations were made to march against the enemy, for the purpose of giving battle.

The French army was not concentrated. General Loison was traversing Alemtejo, and receiving there the submission of the towns which had been terrified by the defeat of the Spaniards and Portuguese at Evora. Thinking that the terror might have extended to Badajoz, he sent Major Theron, with a regiment of dragoons and two battalions of infantry, to that place, to demand the French officers who



were detained there. The Governor replied, that the fury of the people would not allow him to give them up. Steps were taking to throw in some bombs, to cool this furious population, when news arrived that the English were landed. "Hurry to Abrantes," wrote the General-in-chief to General Loison; "there is not a moment to lose. Give up all your plans, even if you should be sure of reducing Badajoz." Loison, in consequence, hastened to complete the victualling of Elvas, the command in which was given to Girod de Novillars, chief of battalion of engineers, in the place of Colonel Miquel, who had died of his wounds. Then, marching by Arronches, Portalegre, Tolosa, and Casa Branca, he arrived on the 9th at Abrantes, after having lost a considerable number of men, who expired of thirst and fatigue. From Abrantes he could, as circumstances might dictate, either move against the van of the English army, or act on its flank.

Now that the fate of the French army was on the eve of being decided upon the right bank of the Tagus, it was of consequence to be released from all uneasiness with respect to the left. The bands of the Ordenança, which were collected at Alcaçer do Sal, formed a mass more numerous than formidable, which had not been disbanded by the roar of the cannon of Evora. Sebastiao Martin Mestre, an enterprising man, directed this assemblage, and had brought to Montalvo four heavy pieces of iron artillery, which he had found at the small harbour of

**Melides.** The English cruiser off Setubal seemed to give support to this force, and it was said to be about to be swelled to a greater magnitude by the army of Algarve, which was crossing the mountains. General Kellermann set out from Lisbon on the 11th of August, with fifty horse, drew from Setubal eight hundred men of the thirty-first and thirty-second light regiments, marched on Alcaçer do Sal, dispersed the Portuguese, whose insignificance was now obvious, returned to Setubal, evacuated the place, after having ruined the forts, batteries, and magazines, and led back the troops to the heights of Almada, leaving a slender garrison in the old and useless Castle of Palmela, which is situated on the point of a peak that towers pre-eminently over all the mountains of this part of Portugal.

The Russian fleet still kept its station at the mouth of the Tagus. General Junot supposed that the moment was at length come to conquer the immoveableness of Admiral Siniavin : he represented to him, that the question was no longer as to fighting against the Portuguese, but, in fact, against the English, with whom the Emperor Alexander was at war ; and that, under the present circumstances, it was by the land campaign that the fate of the squadron would undoubtedly be decided. He conjured him to make an attempt to put to sea, in order to alarm Admiral Cotton ; or, if he was determined to remain where he was, at least to land a part of his crews, that they might be employed in defending

the forts on the Tagus. Siniavin obstinately turned a deaf ear to all the propositions that were made to him, declaring that he would not fight, unless the English vessels endeavoured to force the entrance of the river.

The French army, therefore, was obliged to provide by itself for the defence of the Tagus. Brigadier-general Graindorge remained to command on the left bank : the forty-seventh regiment was established in forts Bugio and Tafariu, and on board of the vessels, to assist in the defence of the pass, and in guarding the Spanish prisoners. The sixty-sixth was destined to occupy Cascaes ; the legion of the South, Saint Julian : the twenty-sixth, Belem, Bon Succès and Ericeyra : the fifteenth of the line, Lisbon and the powder magazines near Sacavem ; a dépôt battalion of twelve hundred men, drawn from the whole of the army, formed the garrison of the Castle of Lisbon. The command of this great city, and of the whole defences of the Tagus, was committed to the General-of-division Travot, who had under his orders Brigadier-general Avril, Governor of the Castle, General Fresier, and the Portuguese Marechal de camp Novion, the head of that police legion, of which only a fragment of the staff was left.

Even while these dispositions were carrying into effect, the contest had begun between the French and the English. On the first intelligence of their landing, the General-in-chief had charged Delaborde,

the senior general-of-division in the army, to advance against the enemy, to watch his movements, and to manœuvre in such a manner as to retard his march, so that time might be gained for General Loison and the reserves to place themselves in line. Delaborde left Lisbon on the 6th of August, with the seventieth regiment, forming General Brenier's brigade, two squadrons of the twenty-sixth regiment of horse-chasseurs, and five pieces of artillery. General Thomières, who occupied Obidos and Peniche with the second light infantry and the battalion of the fourth Swiss regiment, was put under his orders. Colonel Vincent, commander of the engineers of the army, followed the column, with several officers belonging to that branch of the service, for the purpose of reconnoitring the country in which the army might have to fight.

Batalha was indicated as the best point to take up for observing the English army, because it is there that the two principal communications from Lisbon to Leiria meet; namely, the royal road, which passes by Alcoentre, Rio Mayor, and Candieiros, and the road nearer to the sea, which proceeds through Torres Vedras, Obidos, and Alcobaca. General Delaborde, with Brenier's brigade, followed the royal road, while Thomières' brigade marched on a line with it, by the other road. On the 11th of August, his advanced guard reached Batalha. The corps of General Loison took up its quarters at Thomar the same night.



A weak corps of troops would not have been in safety near the Abbey of Batalha, in a woody country, where it was impossible to see what was doing before it, and where nevertheless, it was approachable on all points. General Delaborde established his division at Alcobaça. On the 12th, learning that the English and Portuguese armies were united at Leiria, at the distance of a march from his camp, he fell back on Obidos, whence he despatched the fourth Swiss battalion, to garrison Peniche. On the 14th, he took up a fighting position at the village of Roliça, which is a league in the rear, leaving a battalion, as an advanced guard, near a mill, on the left of the Arnoya, and detaching three companies of the seventieth to Bombarral, Cadaval, and Segura, to connect his operations with those of General Loison, who was to be at Alcoentre on the 13th, or, at latest, on the 15th.

The English were marching by themselves, the appearance of General Loison at Thomar having so terrified the Portuguese, that they already saw the enemy arriving at Coimbra. Bernardin Freire resolved that he would not stir from Leiria, while there were any French on the other side of the Serra de Minde. Sir Arthur Wellesley easily consoled himself for being rid of allies who were somewhat too exacting, and of but little use. He asked them for fourteen hundred infantry, and two hundred-and-sixty cavalry, which he incorporated into his own army. With this reinforcement, he

continued his course by the road nearest to the sea, that he might receive supplies from the fleet. Adopting the military habits of the enemy with whom he was about to contend, he left at Leiria both his baggage and his tents. The army bivouacked on the 13th at Calvaria, on the 14th at Alcobaça, on the 15th at Caldas. Four companies of riflemen, of the sixtieth German regiment, who were sent to Obidos to cover the army, pushed as far as the mill where the French advanced guard was posted. That advanced guard drove them back with loss to Obidos, and then returned in front of the village of Roliça.

The English General made no movement on the 16th, though he had reason to suppose that the troops of General Loison would join those of General Delaborde on that day, or at least on the day following.

The distance from Caldas to Roliça is three leagues; these are the northern and southern extremities of a vast bason, open equally to the west, in the midst of which stands Obidos, with its aqueduct and Moorish castle. On this side of Obidos, as you proceed towards Lisbon, the road crosses a sandy plain, covered with shrubs, till it reaches Roliça. There, from the mountains of the east, branches out a chain of small hills, bounded by the course of the waters, and stretching towards Colombeira. It seems as if all communication with the country in the rear were impracticable, because the eye entirely loses sight of the high road, near a narrow and crooked defile, which extends to Azambugeira-dos-Carros. The



weak division of General Delaborde held the plain, from Roliça to as far as in front of Colombeira. At nine in the morning of the 17th, a musketry-firing was heard towards the advanced posts on the right. The English army was moving out of the passes.

It had set out, at break of day, from its camp of Caldas, formed in six columns; namely, the Portuguese brigade, which was detached to the right, to turn at a distance, by the south of Colombeira, the left of the French; four columns of the centre, one of which was in reserve, commanded by Brigadier-general Crawford; and three others, under the orders of Generals Hill, Nightingale, and Fane, advanced in a parallel line towards the French position, preceded by the cavalry, and protected by two batteries, each of six pieces of cannon; lastly, a strong column on the left, composed of two brigades, a battery of artillery, and a squadron of cavalry, at the head of which was General Ferguson, directed its march in such a manner, on quitting Obidos, as to outfront the enemy's right, and, if necessary, to combat with General Loison, whose corps was known to be in motion.

The English were fifteen thousand strong, and had the finest appearance. They marched slowly but with order, continually closing up the gaps which were made by the obstacles of the ground, and converging towards the narrow position of the French. In this spectacle there was something striking to the imaginations of young soldiers, who.

till then, had never had to do with any thing but bands of fugitive insurgents. The French did not amount to two thousand five hundred men, including the three companies detached to the right. The flanks of the battalions were not supported by the grenadiers and light troops, these having, for the greater part, been formed into a picked regiment. The strength of this corps consisted wholly in the talents of its leaders, and especially in the coolness and energy of the General, an old warrior, beloved by the soldiers, and quick in inspiring them with his own vigour and confidence. As soon as the enemy was engaged in the plain, Delaborde judged that, if he obstinately defended Roliça, he should not leave time enough to fix himself in the strong position behind Colombeira. He sent the seventieth thither; and he himself retired to the entrance of the defile, with the second light, the artillery, and the cavalry.

This movement was executed with quickness and precision. To reach the new position of the French, which was approachable only by five ravines, with steep sides, covered by cystus, myrtle, and other shrubs, Sir Arthur Wellesley ordered five attacks. The most vigorous of these, having at the head of the column the twenty-ninth infantry regiment of Nightingale's brigade, climbed up by dint of courage and by the aid of the shrubs, and began to form on the summit. Brigadier-general Brenier charged it at the head of the first battalion of the seventieth French. The ninth English, of Hill's



brigade, came to the assistance of the twenty-ninth. Colonel Lake, who commanded the attack, was killed. The two regiments were overthrown. There were even a few moments, during which the twenty-ninth laid down its arms in despair of escaping.

General Brenier dislodged, with equal success, the fifth English regiment, which attacked on the side of Colombeira. Fane's brigade, composed of the sixtieth and the ninety-fifth, endeavoured to ascend near the high road. General Delaborde repulsed them at the head of the second light; and though he had been wounded at the commencement of the action, as well as Adjutant-commandant Arnaud, the chief of his staff, and Major Merlier, of the provisional first light, he continued to hold the enemy in check, and animate his troops by his presence.

The immediate attacks of the enemy were everywhere repulsed. But the action had lasted four hours. The French had lost one fourth of their force, all killed or wounded, for they did not leave a single prisoner in the hands of the enemy, but, on the contrary, took from him more than a hundred, several of whom were officers. The English columns sent to turn the position on the right and left, were meanwhile effecting their purpose. That which Major General Ferguson commanded might reach Azambugeira dos Carros in a short time. A retreat was therefore decided upon. It was executed with a daring regularity, which, no less than the combat, excited the enemy's respect. Thrice, General De-

laborde attacked the English with one half of his corps, while the other continued its retrograde movement. The twenty-sixth regiment of horse chasseurs perpetually came forward to the charge, without the Portuguese cavalry venturing to commit itself, and it several times drove the English sharp-shooters back on their masses, which were thus compelled to pause. Major Weiss, the commander of a regiment, was mortally wounded in one of these engagements. The fire of the eighteen English cannon, of large calibre, could not silence that of the five small French pieces, only one of which was left behind, embarrassed in the defile. Sir Arthur Wellesley followed the French to Casal de Sprega. General Delaborde halted at Quinta de Maravigliata, to wait for the three companies, which, having been detached to the right on the 16th, had taken no share in the action. As soon as they rejoined him, he retired to Runa, on the Sizandro, in line with Torres Vedras. Not receiving any news there, either from General Loison, or from the Commander-in-chief, he continued his retreat on the morrow, and took post at Cabeça de Montachique, the highest point of the peninsula in which Lisbon is situated.

After the combat at Roliça, Sir Arthur Wellesley might have marched to meet General Loison, who was advancing by Rio Mayor and Alcoentre; might have driven him back on the Tagus, crushing him by means of his superior forces, and



thus have attained the purpose of the expedition, without running the risk of a battle against equal numbers. He preferred following up General Delaborde. After having spent the night of the 17th at Villa Verde, he was marching, on the morning of the 18th, on the road of Torres Vedras, when it was announced to him, that the transports from England with the brigades of Generals Anstruther and Acland on board, were in sight of the coast. The noble resistance which he had met with from General Delaborde made Sir Arthur Wellesley feel all the value of this reinforcement. He led his troops to meet it, on the road to Lourinhao. On the 19th, he took up a position at Vimeiro, so as to cover the landing, which was to be effected at a league's distance, in a bay formed by the mouth of the Maceira rivulet.

Nineteen days had now elapsed, since the English began to disembark, and as yet they had only had to combat with a French advanced guard. General Loison, whose movement on Leiria had palsied the Portuguese army of Bernardin Freire, instead of advancing on Leiria or Alcobaça, had proceeded, on the 13th, by the route of Torres Novas, to Santarem. As his battalions, worn out with heat and fatigue, had left half their numbers behind, he spent the 14th and 15th in that town, to give time for the stragglers to join, which was the reason that General Delaborde fought singly at Roliça. General Loison left at Santarem the Hanoverian legion, which would have been better stationed at Abrantes

where there was an unprotected French hospital. On the 16th, being pressed by reiterated and imperative orders, he moved to Alcoentre; and, on the 17th, the General-in-chief joined him near Cercal.

The General-in-chief had also taken the field. He had quitted Lisbon for the first time since his entering it, and this he had done with extreme reluctance; not that he felt any disinclination to meeting the English in battle; on the contrary, he was resolved to fight with them. But one invariably fixed idea controlled and modified his determinations. He believed firmly, and so believed, too, the French and Portuguese who composed his government, that the quiet of Lisbon depended wholly on his presence, and that as soon as he should be at a distance from the capital, the insurrection would break out there, while, at the same time, the English squadron would force its way into the Tagus. That military combination, therefore, appeared to him to be the best, which offered the means of fighting the enemy far enough from the capital for his cannon not to be heard there, and yet near enough to allow of his return to it within forty-eight hours after the battle.

On the 15th of August, the members of the government, the heads of the clergy and of the law, and the superior officers of the army, were assembled to celebrate the Emperor's birth-day. After recommending to them to preserve the tranquillity of Lisbon, the General-in-chief the same night



set off at the head of all the troops that were still disposable; namely, a regiment of grenadiers, the battalion of the eighty-second, the third provisional regiment of dragoons, and a train of ten pieces of cannon, which was followed by a supply of ammunition for the whole army, and by waggons, containing the baggage and the treasure.

This corps of troops was retarded at the passage of Sacavem, a bridge having been forgotten to be established on the river. It halted at Villa Franca da Xira. On the morning of the 17th, when it was already on its way, some Portuguese arrived from Lisbon, and announced that the English squadron had entered the Tagus. The troops immediately retraced their footsteps. It was soon discovered that the intelligence was false, and they continued their march. The Duke of Abrantes left the direction of it to General Thiebault, the chief of his staff, and went to put himself at the head of General Loison's corps, which he met near Alcoentre, moving slowly and tardily towards Cercal.

In the meanwhile, at four leagues distance, the cannon of Roliça was distinctly heard. The peasants stated that the English army alone was engaged with General Delaborde. From these reports General Junot concluded, that, while Sir Arthur Wellesley marched on Lisbon by Torres Vedras, the Portuguese army, the strength of which was exaggerated, would proceed thither by the high road of Rio Mayor and Alcoentre. He, therefore, de-

terminated to fight the English with all his forces united, and then to return, with the same forces, against the Portuguese. From Cercal, at seven o'clock in the evening of the 17th, the General-in-chief wrote to General Thiebault: "I am collecting my army at Torres Vedras. We shall give battle to the English: make haste, if you wish to be of the party."

It was difficult to make any great haste with such a ponderous column of equipages; especially since, having quitted the royal road beyond Villa Franca da Xira, it had entered into the narrow and steep ways, which cross transversely the ramifications of Monte Junto. It arrived at La Mot-o-Otta very late on the 17th.

On the 18th, the corps of General Loison moved on Torres Vedras. The reserve slowly dragged on by Cercal, Pedromunes, and Romabhal. It extended between the van and the rear several leagues, and the most insignificant party of the enemy might have destroyed, almost without striking a blow, the equipages of the artillery, the treasures and the provisions. It did not arrive at Torres Vedras till the 20th. General Delaborde's division had returned to that place, on the 19th, from Cabeça de Montachique. A junction of all the disposable forces was thus effected.

It was now visible what a heavy tax the occupation of an enemy's country imposes on an army. According to the muster-rolls, there were, on the 15th

of July, twenty-six thousand French troops in Portugal; and on the 20th of August, scarcely ten thousand bayonets or sabres could be got together on the field of battle. The marches of the month of July had occasioned a loss of nearly three thousand men, who had either fallen, or were sick in the hospitals. Five thousand six hundred were employed in occupying Elvas, Palmela, Peniche, and Santarem. Two thousand four hundred men were at Lisbon, a thousand of them on board the fleet, to guard the vessels, and keep down the Spanish prisoners; three thousand were distributed in the forts, on the two banks of the Tagus. Perceiving too late that he had retained too many fortresses, and left too many troops at the mouth of the river, the Duke of Abrantes despatched, from Torres Vedras, an order to General Travot, to send off to the army the battalion of the sixty-sixth, and four picked companies of the other battalions. Until they arrived, there were not, at Torres Vedras, more than eleven thousand five hundred men, including the non-combatants. They were formed into two divisions of infantry, a reserve of grenadiers, and a division of cavalry.

The first division, commanded by General Delaborde, was composed of the second and fourth light, and the seventieth of the line, forming Brenier's brigade; of the eighty-sixth, and of two companies of the fourth Swiss, forming Thomières's brigade: in all, three thousand two hundred infantry.



The second division, commanded by General Loison, was composed of the twelfth and fifteenth light, and fifty-eighth of the line, forming Solignac's brigade; of the thirty-second and eighty-second, forming Charlaud's brigade: in the whole, two thousand seven hundred infantry.

The reserve, commanded by the general of division Kellermann, consisted of four battalions of grenadiers, two regiments, making together two thousand one hundred men.

The division of cavalry, commanded by brigadier-general Margaron, consisted of the twenty-sixth horse chasseurs, and of the third, fourth, and fifth provisional regiments of dragoons, twelve hundred horse in the whole, each regiment having two squadrons.

The artillery, commanded by brigadier-general Taviel, consisted of twenty-six cannons, which were thus distributed: eight pieces in the first division, under the orders of Colonel Prost; eight in the second division, under the orders of Colonel d'Aboville; and ten in the reserve, under the orders of Colonel Foy.

The English outnumbered the French in the proportion of two to one. The five hundred men killed, wounded, or taken, at Roliça, were replaced, and far beyond it, by the reinforcement of four thousand two hundred men, which was brought by Generals Anstruther and Acland, and which entered into line in the course of the 20th. Besides,



the station in the Burlings had made signals of the approach of the convoy from the Baltic, with eleven thousand men under Sir John Moore. Even before the landing of that force, the army, not including the Portuguese detachment, consisted of twenty-three infantry regiments (seventeen thousand men) divided into eight brigades. Having made no forced marches, it had neither sick nor stragglers. Its artillery train was four-and-twenty pieces, one battery of which was nine pounders. It was inferior to the French army only in its cavalry, which consisted of two hundred of the twentieth light dragoons, and two hundred and sixty Portuguese horse.

Without paying any attention to the force collected at Torres Vedras, the English General prepared to march by the narrow and flinty road of Mafra. This, for the space of six leagues, runs parallel to a steep coast, and forms a succession of defiles, in which the army, lengthened out in a single column, would have been perpetually assailable in rear and flank, while there was not a single spot where it could form in order of battle. But, supposing that the French would consent to remain inactive spectators of this adventurous march, Sir Arthur Wellesley would reach Lisbon some hours sooner, and General Moore would only have to move rapidly on Santarem, to cut off the retreat of the enemy into Spain. The first part of this plan was beginning to be carried into execution.

Orders had even been issued to the troops to march on the 21st, at five in the morning; but at that epoch, Sir Harry Burrard, who was appointed second in command of the British forces in the Peninsula, arrived in the roads of Maceira, bringing with him the chiefs of the two branches of the staff service, namely, General Clinton, Adjutant General, and Colonel Murray, Quarter-master General. Sir Arthur Wellesley went on board, to confer with his superior officer. Neither of them had any accurate ideas, either as to the force of the French army, or the difficulties of the country. The account which was given to Sir Harry Burrard, of the combat of Roliça, made him apprehend a strenuous resistance. Sir John Moore was on the point of arriving in Mondego Bay, why not wait for him? The expedition would be more certain of success, if it were undertaken with an additional eleven thousand men, and especially with a more numerous cavalry. General Burrard sent orders to Sir John Moore to land at Maceira, and directed Sir Arthur Wellesley to remain in his position of Vimeiro.

Strong positions are never wanting in irregular and mountainous countries, where cultivation has not smoothed the asperities of the ground. Vimeiro offers one of this kind, and it was formidable from the number of troops which the English had accumulated there. The village stands in the valley through which flows the Maceira. Towards the

north goes off a chain of lofty knolls, along the summit of which is carried the road which passes by the hamlets of Fontanell and Ventoza, to the town of Lourinhao; this chain is bordered on the east by a large and deep ravine, at the bottom of which is the village of Toledo. To the south-east of Vimeiro, and contiguous to the houses of the village, rises a flat summit, partly wooded, and partly open, which overlooks all the avenues on the side of Torres Vedras. This flat summit is itself overlooked in the rear and to the west of Vimeiro by a mountain mass, which fills the space between the left bank of the Maceira and the sea-shore.

On this mass bivouacked six brigades of the English army, commanded by Generals Hill, Crawford, Acland, Nightingale, and Ferguson, having their advanced posts on the Mafra road. The two other brigades, Fane's and Anstruther's, were posted on the flat summit of the right bank of the Maceira. The artillery was divided between these two positions. The cavalry was left in the valley, for the convenience of obtaining water. The Lourinhao road was watched by the Portuguese and by some companies of riflemen.

This position had not been reconnoitred by the French. The detachments of their cavalry which had approached nearest to it, merely reported that the English were all concentrated round Vimeiro, and that three lines of fires had been distinctly seen during the night. But the Duke of Abrantes could



not hesitate. The situation of Lisbon, abandoned to so weak a garrison, rendered him extremely uneasy. The Portuguese army was at a distance. The English, by gaining time, must grow stronger. It was necessary, then, that he should come at them, wherever they might be, and whatever their number.

On the 20th, towards evening, the French General moved his cavalry and the major part of his infantry to the junction of the Lourinhao and Vimeiro roads, beyond a long and difficult defile, which is a league from Torres Vedras. The remainder of the infantry, and the artillery, passed the defile in the course of the night. On the 21st, at seven in the morning, the French army was assembled a league and a half from the enemy's advance posts, but out of his sight, and without his being aware of the movement.

From the point where these troops were assembled to the flat summit of Vimeiro, which the shape of the ground prevents from being seen, extends a waste of sand and rocks, which has a developement of three or four hundred fathoms, sloping down, with a rapid descent, on one side towards the ravine of Toledo, on the other towards the course of the Rio Maceira. The French army moved onward, in the direction of the flat summit, the cavalry in the van, each division of infantry marching in column, with a front of two brigades, and the artillery in the interval. The third provisional regiment of dragoons, commanded by Major Contans, was sent to the



right. It passed rapidly the great ravine in the vicinity of Toledo, and formed near a windmill at Fontanell, on the highest point of the road from Vimeiro to Lourinhao. This manœuvre was seen from the English camp. General Wellesley, who was previously of opinion that his left was the weakest part of his position, was now persuaded that the attack was about to be made in that quarter. He immediately detached thither the brigade of Major-general Ferguson, with three pieces of artillery, which was followed directly in second line by Nightingale's brigade, with two other pieces; this latter was to be supported, still farther to the left, on the side of the sea, by Crawford's brigade and the Portuguese infantry. This movement of the English towards their left induced, on the part of the French, and as by instinct, a parallel movement. The right brigade of the second division, under the orders of General Brenier, marched, as being the nearest at hand, to succour the third regiment of dragoons.

Shortly after, the Duke of Abrantes judged that there were not troops enough on that point; and, accordingly, the first brigade of the second division under the orders of Solignac, which followed General Brenier in the succession of columns, followed him also in his movement to the right. Six pieces of artillery of the second division likewise proceeded thither. The English General, more and more confirmed in his belief of the project which he

attributed to the enemy, directed the brigades of Bowes and Acland to form in column above Vimeiro, to act as a reserve to Major-general Ferguson's detachment.

Thus it happened, that, when the sharp-shooters had scarcely began firing, there remained on the high mountain, so recently occupied by six English brigades, only three regiments of infantry, destined, under the orders of Major-general Hill, to act as a reserve to the whole army. The flat summit of Vimeiro was still crowned by the six regiments of Fane's and Anstruther's brigades, with eighteen pieces of cannon. Near half of the army was acting on the Lourinhao road, in opposition to about a third of the French army; but with this difference in the respective positions, that the movement of the French, on their right, was made in a fortuitous manner, and was separated by a wide space of ground from their principal column, while, on the contrary the English had closed up concentrically, and the five regiments, led by Brigadiers Bowes and Acland, were so disposed as to support at once the movement of General Ferguson and the defence of Vimeiro.

The principal French column continued to proceed in its first direction. The position of Vimeiro wore a formidable aspect, because, between the lines of infantry, amphitheatrically disposed and bristling with artillery, which covered the flat summit, the brigade of Major-general Hill was also seen behind,



like a third line, commanding the two others. This imposing sight, however, did not stop General Delaborde, who, advancing against the enemy, at the head of the eighty-sixth regiment of Thomières's brigade, with a warm fire of cannon and sharp-shooters, charged the fiftieth English regiment at the point of the bayonet. A few moments after, Generals Loison and Charlaud brought the battalions of the thirty-second and eighty-second into action, against the ninety-seventh English, which was succoured by the forty-third and fifty-second. In this attack, Adjutant-commandant Pillet and General Charlaud were wounded. The Chief-of-battalion Peytavy, of the eighty-second, fell pierced with wounds. The British army had no retreat except a precipitous coast, behind which was a turbulent sea, and yet Sir Arthur Wellesley did not feel the slightest degree of uneasiness. The position was strong, the troops were skilfully posted, and ably directed; what was still more important, they were numerous, and the assailing columns were deficient in depth.

General Kellermann's reserve of grenadiers had formed in line within two cannon-shot of Vimeiro, and the Duke of Abrantes stationed himself there, dividing his attention between General Delaborde's attack and his detachment on the right. When he saw that the brigades of the left could not carry the flat summit, he sent thither the second regiment of grenadiers. This brave corps, commanded by Colonel Saint-Clair, marched in column, by

platoons, along the woody height which descends in rapid slope on the right towards the ravine through which the road passes from Vimeiro to Toledo. The attack made by the brigades of Thomières and Charlaud had then failed, and all the efforts of the English were directed against the grenadiers. Eighteen pieces of cannon opened on them at once; and the Shrapnell-shells at the first discharge struck down the files of a platoon, and then exploded in the platoon that followed. Their fire was feebly answered by the artillery of the first division and of the reserve, which was compelled to keep in motion, that it might not embarrass the march of the grenadiers. Notwithstanding this inferiority of support, and the loss which it sustained, the grenadier regiment pushed on till it came within a hundred yards of the flat summit. At the moment of its forming for the attack, the column was assailed by the converging musketry-fire of six English regiments. Almost all the horses of the artillery and the ammunition-wagons were killed. The Colonels-of-artillery, Prost and Foy, were wounded. The first two platoons of grenadiers disappeared, as if they had been annihilated; the regiment could not form line of battle in front, and obliqueing to the right, in spite of the orders and example of the chiefs, it rushed headlong into the ravine.

General Kellermann followed with the second regiment of grenadiers, commanded by Colonel Marassin; he entered the ravine, marching direct against



the brigade of General Acland. This rapid movement towards the English centre surprised them: apprehensive for the village of Vimeiro, they hastened to line the church-yard with infantry. The column of General Acland descended on the first regiment of grenadiers, and took it in flank; the second regiment had by this time been broken; the English cavalry, consisting of four hundred of the twentieth light dragoons and the Portuguese, charged the remnants of it, made many prisoners, among whom was the chief-of-battalion Palamede de Forbin, seized the dismounted and unharnessed cannon, and penetrated as far as the Duke of Abrantes, at the spot whence the reserve had been dispatched. But the French cavalry of General Margaron, which had been hidden by a small wood, now appeared; the General-in-chief's guard, the twenty-sixth horse-chasseurs, led by the chief-of-squadron, the Prince of Salm Salm, and the fourth and fifth dragoons, commanded by Majors Leclerc and Theron, rushed to the charge in their turn. The English and Portuguese were driven back and broken; they suffered a considerable loss, and their leader, Colonel Taylor, was shot through the heart.

Almost at the same time, another combat took place on the road from Vimeiro to Lourinhao. Solignac's brigade, which, though last detached to the right, had first scaled the opposite mountain, (after having traversed Toledo,) had nearly reached Fontanel, and was not yet formed, when Major-general

Ferguson came upon it with four regiments, and, supported by General Nightingale, opened on it a fire of battalions, and then charged. General Solignac was badly wounded, three pieces of cannon were immediately taken, and three more afterwards, and a great number of officers and soldiers were killed or wounded. The troops were driven back into the valley of Toledo.

But General Brenier's brigade was then forming in the rear and to the right of Solignac's brigade, towards the acclivity of Ventoso, where it was concealed from the English by the nature of the ground. It executed a change of front to the left. The thirtieth moved forward, and fell unawares on the seventy-first and eighty-second English regiments, which had halted in the bottom. The cannon were recovered. But, taking advantage of their enormous numerical superiority, the English returned to the charge in front, with six regiments of infantry, while Crawford's brigade arrived on the right, and began a fire of sharpshooters, which outflanked the French line. The artillery of the English also kept up a hot fire. The two parties came to close quarters, and the General was wounded and made prisoner. In vain the third regiment of dragoons attempted several charges; they were rendered abortive by the roughness of the ground, and many brave officers fell, among whom was the young Arrighi, allied by blood to the Bonaparte family. The four weak battalions fell back in the

ravine. This brigade and that of General Solignac were now without leaders. General Thiebault, chief of the general staff, hastened to take the command. He rallied the troops, and withdrew them slowly, and by echelons, to the position in the rear of Toledo.

General Kellermann had also extricated himself from the action, at the head of the first regiment of grenadiers, which marched coolly and in close order, and was joined by the remains of the second. The division of cavalry had discontinued the pursuit. It presented two lines of battle, at six hundred fathoms from the positions of the enemy, thus affording a screen to the rallying of the infantry. It was now noon. The firing had lasted only two hours and a half, and yet every corps, every soldier, had fought, even that volunteer horse-guard, which was composed of the French merchants of Lisbon. The French had lost nearly eighteen hundred men, killed, wounded, or missing; an enormous loss with reference to their scanty numbers, and in comparison with that of the English, which did not amount to eight hundred men; the English lost only one superior officer: their artillery was untouched. Their reserve of infantry had not been engaged. The sound of the trumpets was heard along the whole of the line. It seemed that, following the twentieth dragoons, and to repair the check which it had sustained, masses of infantry were going to descend. It was not so. Sir Arthur Wellesley had forbidden



the troops to quit their posts without orders from him. Not a battalion stirred, even the sharp-shooters ceased their fire, and remained as though they had been vanquished.

It was Sir Arthur Wellesley who commanded in this battle. Lieutenant-General Sir Harry Burrard did, indeed, arrive on the ground during the attack on the flat summit of Vimeiro, but he left to his junior comrade the task of terminating an action which had been so auspiciously begun. The latter suffered the precise moment to escape, in which he might have pursued or crushed his enemy. The French army was soon in a posture for action again. About two o'clock arrived from Lisbon a battalion of the sixty-sixth, and the picked companies of the Hanoverian legion, and of the legion of the South. This reinforcement partly filled up the void which the battle had made. Some pieces of cannon, dismounted in the attack on the flat summit, were lying on the ground, as if to invite those who were nearest to come and take them. But the English resisted the temptation. They were not desirous to change a well-managed defence, into a battle of which the issue appeared to them to be doubtful. Tired of waiting for them, the French army re-passed the *defilé* towards evening, and returned to Torres Vedras.

On the morning of the 22d, the Duke of Abrantes convoked to a council of war, at Torres Vedras, the generals of division, Delaborde, Loison, and Keller-



mann, Brigadier-General Thiebault, chief of the general staff, Brigadier-General Taviel, commandant of artillery, Colonel Vincent, commandant of engineers, and Troussel, the chief intendant commissary. He laid before them the situation of the army. It had fought on the day before, rather to fulfil an honourable duty, than in the hope of being victorious. From the prisoners it was known, that the English army was about to receive reinforcements, which would raise it to double its actual number. Other reports announced, that the Portuguese army, under Bernardin Freire, had been for two days at Obidos; that the corps of Bacellar was descending along the Tagus; that already the peasants of Beira, led by the monks of Monsanto, had entered Abrantes, and had murdered there some sick soldiers, and that Pepin de Bellisle, the corregidor mor, had been treacherously assassinated. The intelligence from Lisbon was likewise alarming.

Under these disastrous circumstances, ought the army to try once more the fate of arms? If it ought, then, how? If it could not, what course was to be pursued?

Opinions were unanimous on the three questions. Enough had been done for the honour of the army. The troops were now no longer able to keep the field. To give battle to such numerous enemies, would be only leading the soldiers to the slaughter. Neither at Lisbon, nor in any other part of the kingdom, were there strong points, prepared and

provisioned in such a way as to render it practicable to wait for the arrival of succours from France, at some tardy and uncertain future period. The evacuation of Portugal was, therefore, compulsory.

But to open a passage through the Peninsula, for the purpose of rejoining the French armies on the Ebro, even should the attempt be successful, must be a long and sanguinary task. Why, then, not endeavour to treat with the English on this basis, that, in exchange for Lisbon and the fortresses to be given up to them, they should convey the French army to France in their vessels? This proposition was reasonable; there was nothing in it which was derogatory to military honour, seeing that Lisbon, which it was thus intended to give up, could no longer contribute to our defence, and that the army was like a garrison that capitulates with the breaches open, and after having sustained two assaults. Yet even this was at first repugnant to the feelings of men who were unaccustomed to make this sort of composition with their enemies. It was, however, unanimously adopted. When, besides, it was taken into account that independent of the disastrous chances which would be avoided by negotiating, the advantage would also be gained of stipulating conditions, which might tend to preserve the fleet of the Russians, our allies, and to protect such Portuguese as had attached themselves to the French cause, and must remain in the country, these two additional considerations won over every

suffrage. The general of division, Kellermann, was immediately despatched to the English headquarters, and the army began its march to cover Lisbon.

The choice of the negotiator showed the issue which was expected for the negotiation. Kellermann bore a name which was known throughout Europe, in consequence of the ancient glory of his father, the conqueror of Valmy, and because he himself, leading the cavalry at Marengo, had decided, by a brilliant charge, the fortune of that immortal day. In him, the boldness of the warrior was united with the observant subtilty of the diplomatist. When he arrived at the English advanced posts, accompanied by a trumpeter and an interpreter, the utmost uneasiness was visible; the guards fired their muskets, and the regiments hastened to range themselves in battle. This involuntary movement of surprise and alarm showed him that the English army had not the confidence and security of victory. It was not Sir Harry Burrard that now commanded: Sir Hew Dalrymple, the definitive Commander-in-chief, had just landed. He could not conceal the satisfaction which he felt at seeing the French make overtures. Knowing neither the situation of the army nor of the country, he commissioned Sir Arthur Wellesley to confer with General Kellermann. The latter had, in conversation, carefully attended to those abrupt sentences, which, better than premeditated speeches expressed the thoughts and fears of the officers and chiefs. "The troops of Sir John Moore were still



at a distance. It was doubtful whether so considerable a corps could be landed on so difficult a coast. The stormy weather hinders us from communicating with our transports. If it should last a little longer, we shall be starved. And what are the Portuguese doing? We can expect nothing from them."

Of these indiscretions General Kellerman took advantage, to talk largely of the resources and energy of the French, and especially of the great assistance they should derive from their allies, the crews of the Russian vessels. After a discussion of some hours, he concluded a preliminary arrangement and an armistice, of which the principal conditions were,—

That the French army should evacuate Portugal, and be conveyed by sea to France, with its artillery, arms, and baggage.

That the Portuguese, and the French established in Portugal, should not be molested for their political conduct, and that those who thought proper to depart, should be allowed a certain time to quit the country with their property.

That the Russian fleet should remain in the port of Lisbon as in a neutral port, and that whenever it sailed, it should not be pursued till the expiration of the term fixed by maritime law.

These conditions were to serve as the basis of a definitive treaty, to be settled by the Generals-in-chief of the two armies, and the British admiral, till which time there was to be a suspension of arms; the Sizandro forming the line of demarcation between



the two camps, and the armed Portuguese not to advance beyond Leiria and Thomar. Forty-eight hours' notice was to be given previously to the renewal of hostilities between the armies of his Britannic Majesty, and those of his Imperial and Royal Majesty. The French negotiator took care to insert in the act the titles of his sovereign, precisely because the Cabinet of St. James's did not officially recognize the Emperor Napoleon. General Kellermann rejoined the French army on the 23d, at Cabeça de Montachique, and, on the same day the General-in-chief re-entered Lisbon, at the head of the grenadiers and of his two regiments of cavalry.

It was high time for him to do so. The members and civil officers of the government, and particularly the numerous Portuguese who had espoused the French cause, were all in consternation. Some hid themselves, others sought refuge on board the fleet. The ministers assembled in the arsenal of the Fundaio, a large building by the seaside. The garrison of the castle had been transferred thither, to perform the police duty of the city. The ships of war were moored near the shore, in such a manner as, in case of revolt, to be able, on the one side, to sink the vessels with the prisoners, and, on the other, to sweep the quays, and the streets leading to the sea.

These precautions were quite necessary, for a population of two hundred thousand souls was boiling with hatred and hope. On the 20th, the combat of Roliça became known, and the inhabitants, spreading

themselves in the Rocio, in Commerce Square, and in the lower part of the town, began to utter cries of fury against the French. The exertions of one good man were sufficient to disperse this tumultuous assemblage; this was General Travot. The Portuguese loved and honoured that officer, because he had not been employed in any expedition against the insurgents, and because, in his command at Oeyras, instead of oppressing the country, he had assisted the unfortunate with his purse and his advice. On this occasion he was not afraid to trust himself in the midst of the populace, accompanied by Brigadier-general Frezier and some officers. He urged and intreated them to disperse. The calmness of his countenance made such an impression on them that they returned peaceably to their homes.

But as the danger was still imminent, General Travot thought it necessary to recal the thirty-first light battalion from Almada to Lisbon, though Setubal was occupied, and all the country overrun by the insurgents of the left bank of the Tagus. Then came the news of the action of Vimeiro, which the Intendant of the Police announced as a victory, while other information spoke of it as a defeat. On the 23d, when troops were reported to be coming, many inhabitants of Lisbon went to meet them at the Campo Grande, uncertain whether it was English or French that they were going to see.

In the mean time, the arrangement of Vimeiro was merely temporary. Admiral Cotton refused to



allow of the neutrality of the port of Lisbon for the Russians. During the eight months which he had blockaded their squadron, he had not failed to consult his government as to the conduct which was to be observed towards them, in every possible case. He was ordered to detain the vessels, and send the crews back to Russia. Such were the instructions given by the Admiralty, even before an army had landed and been victorious in Portugal.

This first obstacle to the conclusion of a definitive convention gave rise to others which had not been foreseen. Instead of conferences taking place between the French General-in-chief and the commanders of the British land and sea forces, the negotiation was carried on at Lisbon, by General Kellermann and Lieutenant-colonel Murray, Quartermaster-general of the English army. Difficulties arose every moment: the negotiations were several times on the point of being broken off. The English General denounced, on the 28th of August, the rupture of the armistice, and the march of his army towards Lisbon. The Portuguese, under Bernardino Freire, moved forward to l'Incarnation, near Mafra. Bacellar's Portuguese corps was ordered to embark in boats at Santarem, and endeavour to surprise the Hanoverian legion at Sacavem. The Count of Castro Marim, with six thousand men of the armies of Alemtejo and Algarve, marched from Evora towards the Tagus. Colonel Lopez blockaded Palmela, and occupied Setubal with bands

of ferocious peasants, who murdered the French aide-camp, Marlier, whom General Graindorge had sent to them with a flag of truce. At the same time General Beresford arrived off the mouth of the Tagus, from Cadiz, with the forty-second regiment. The eleven thousand men under Sir John Moore also landed at Maceira; and Admiral Cotton pressed Sir Hew Dalrymple to detach a part of his corps to Setubal, to join the Portuguese of Alemtejo, and cut off the retreat of the French to Elvas.

The firmness of Junot was still greater than the danger of his situation. He said to the Russians, "You have six thousand five hundred soldiers and sailors; you do not want more than a thousand for the duty of your ships while they are at anchor: form them into six large battalions. With this reinforcement, I will wait, either for succours from France, for the tempestuous season, or for a convention which will save my army and your squadron." To the English he said, "Take back your treaty, I am not in need of it; I will defend the streets of Lisbon inch by inch; I will burn all that I am obliged to leave to you, and you will see what it will cost you to win the rest."

So he would have done. Siniavin preferred treating separately with the English, and giving up his vessels to them, to running with the French a risk which might have insured glory and safety. The question as to the Russians being thus put aside, was a great step towards a definitive conven-



tion. That convention could be nothing more than a developement of the conditions clearly stipulated in the arrangement of Vimeiro, which arrangement was protected in the army by the military popularity of General Wellesley, by whom it was signed. Some modifications were agreed to by both parties, on account of the scarcity of transports. The number of artillery and cavalry horses, which the army was to take with it, was reduced to six hundred. It was also decided, that the French merchants established at Lisbon should not remove the merchandise which constituted their property, but only be allowed to dispose of it. All the other stipulations favourable to the French, and to the Portuguese who had taken part with them, were preserved, and even enlarged, in the definitive convention of evacuation, signed on the 30th of August, which is known by the name of Cintra, because the headquarters of the English army were at that place, when Sir Hew Dalrymple ratified it by affixing his seal.\*

The name and authority of the Prince Regent of Portugal, and of the Supreme Junta which governed in his absence, were not mentioned in the Convention of Cintra. No thought was taken of claiming the Portuguese soldiers or sailors, or the deputies who were detained in France. The English generals dispensed with consulting, as to the treaty, those

\* See Notes and Illustrations, No. XXXI. at the end of this volume.

who had not assisted them to fight. All was settled without the participation of the Portuguese. They, however, loudly remonstrated. Bernardin Freire and the Count of Castro Marim formally protested against several articles of the convention, especially against that which, in contempt of the sovereignty of the Prince Regent, secured impunity and safety to all the partisans of the French. On the part of the inhabitants of Lisbon there arose accusations and murmurs, because they supposed the French army was going to carry off all the riches of the kingdom. Murmurs and accusations were, however, soon drowned in the obstreperous joy which the deliverance of their country excited in them.

A deeper impression was produced in England by the same event; there they were intoxicated with the success of the Spaniards, and not a doubt was felt that the army of Junot would at least experience a like fate with that of Dupont. The Convention of Cintra was received with such signs of indignation and grief as had never before been manifested, not even for the convention of Closter-Seven, in the Seven Years' War, or, more recently, for the capitulations of the Helder and Buenos Ayres. The journalists surrounded their papers with black borders, in token of public mourning; and innumerable caricatures appeared, in which three gibbets were raised, for the three generals who had succeeded each other in the chief command. The Common Council of the city of London assembled



constitutionally, and carried to the foot of the throne its complaints against an act which it declared to be "disgraceful to the British name, and injurious to the best interests of the British nation." Other political bodies, in the three kingdoms, spoke the same language. In compliance with this burst of public opinion, the Government was obliged to submit the convention of Cintra to a solemn enquiry.

This same public opinion, under the influence of a representative constitution, would not have allowed responsible ministers to violate a promise given, and drawn up in writing. The convention was faithfully executed, as far as depended on the English authorities. The French troops could not be immediately embarked, because the transports which were to convey them to France, the same that had brought the British troops to Portugal, had not their supply of provisions ready. The fortnight which the French now spent at Lisbon, was not the least difficult period of the occupation. The Portuguese insurgents arrived there in swarms, bedizened with feathers and ribands, wearing on their arms as many scarfs as they pretended to have killed enemies, and having their hats ornamented with the darling motto, *Death to the French!* Nothing was heard in the streets but crackers, musket and pistol firing, and sanguinary cries. The French army was encamped in the squares and on the heights, with batteries pointed towards the principal streets. Though its discipline overawed its enemies, yet the

patrols were hourly attacked, and soldiers were assassinated. This state of things lasted till the middle of September, at which epoch the troops went on board, and the transports put to sea.

The garrisons of Elvas and Almeida did not arrive in time to embark with the army. As soon as the news of the convention of Cintra reached Badajoz, the Spaniards thought it a favourable opportunity to seize upon Elvas. General Galluzo, who commanded the army of Estremadura, summoned the fortress repeatedly. It had for its governor a firm and vigilant officer, Girod de Novilars, chief of battalion of engineers, who treated the summonses with contempt. On the 7th of September, six thousand Spaniards arrived before Elvas, with a numerous train of field artillery. On the 9th, they completed the investment of the place. The governor evacuated the town, the defences of which had long been in ruins: he left a company in Fort Saint Lucia, and shut himself up, with the remainder of his garrison, in Fort la Lippe, which commands Elvas and the country. The Spaniards again summoned the governor, and meeting with no better success than before, opened a cannonade from the summit of the Serra de Maleffe. However, on the 20th of September, an English regiment arrived to take possession of the place. The governor then departed, taking with him not merely the garrison of Elvas, but also the French civil and military officers who had been detained for four months at Badajoz, and





who were given up in consequence of an arrangement concluded at Lisbon, by General Kellermann, through the intervention of the English. The garrison of Elvas embarked, on the 17th of October, at Aldea Gallega, opposite Lisbon.

When Bacellar's corps descended into Lower Beira, he took with him all the troops of the line and the greatest part of the militia. There remained before Almeida only the second regiment of the militia of Guarda. This troop was posted in the village of Junca, a league from the place. A party of the garrison made a sally on the 15th of August, the Emperor's birth-day, surprised the militia, killed several of them, and put the rest to flight. After this rout, the Portuguese contented themselves with watching Almeida at a distance, and falling upon straggling individuals, belonging to the weak detachments which were sent out from the place. A warlike monk, brother José de la Madre de Dios, poisoned, with a mixture of nux vomica and lime, some springs near the glacis, at which the soldiers occasionally quenched their thirst, and a tank, at which the cattle belonging to the garrison were watered.

Early in October, Almeida was given up to the English, in execution of the convention of Cintra, and the garrison was marched to Oporto, to be embarked there. The presence of fourteen hundred armed French occasioned a more violent riot than any that had occurred during the first scenes of the Portuguese restoration. More than fifteen thousand of

the inhabitants of the town and country rushed upon the unfortunate soldiers, who were unable to defend themselves, even with the assistance of the two hundred English by whom they were escorted. They had only time to seek an asylum on board the English vessels in the river. The assailants embarked in boats, surrounded the ships, and tried to board them. The soldiers had only sixty cartridges per man for their defence. The bishop and the magistrates interposed. Their influence, however, would have been unavailing but for the presence of Sir Robert Wilson, colonel of a newly-levied Portuguese corps, called the Lusitanian Legion, which was then organizing at Oporto, at the expense of England. This generous enemy succeeded, at the risk of his own life, in rescuing the luckless French from the rage of the people. But he could only save their lives. Disarmed and despoiled, the garrison of Almeida was conveyed by sea to the mouth of the Tagus, where, on the 18th of October, it rejoined the garrison of Elvas and a part of the eighty-sixth regiment, which had been separated from the convoy by a tempest, and forced to put back to Lisbon.

At the same period the army which had borne the name of the Army of Portugal, was disembarked on the French coast. The Duke of Abrantes landed at Rochelle, and, with him or after him, three thousand men. The rest of the army was conveyed to Quiberon, in pursuance of orders from



the English Government, received during the passage. Quiberon and L'Orient being the points most distant from Spain, at which, according to the stipulations of the Convention of Cintra, the French could be put on shore. Quiberon was preferred, as offering more difficulties to the landing, and less resources for supplying the troops with provisions; thus delaying, as much as possible, their return to the Peninsula.

Twenty-nine thousand men had been sent into Portugal by the Emperor Napoleon; namely, twenty-five thousand with General Junot, and four thousand, who subsequently rejoined the regiments, from the hospitals and depôts. Three thousand perished, either of fatigue on the road from Bayonne to Lisbon, and in the marches during the burning summer of 1808, or assassinated individually by the Portuguese peasants, or of a natural death in the hospitals. Two thousand fell in the field of battle, or were made prisoners in various engagements. Two thousand of those who were embarked never arrived; one part of them being lost at sea, with the vessels which contained them, and the rest, who were Swiss, deserting to the English army. Twenty-two thousand returned to France. They departed from thence inexperienced conscripts; they came back well-trained, warlike soldiers: and they took their place in the columns of the Grand Army, which was traversing France on its way to the Spanish Peninsula, to retrieve the disasters of the campaign.



.....	1940	
.....	60	50
.....	98	
Total.....	2018 m.	50 h.

#### N OF PAMPELUNA.

of brigade, commandant.

battalion.....	435 m.	h.
.....	297	
.....	488	
assessors .....	329	301
.....	65	
...3 bat. 1 sq.	1612 m.	301 h.

observation of } 10096 m. 1881 h.  
 mess..... }

#### *the Troops which crossed to*

ing battalions, and three regiments  
 the conscripts of 1809, destined for  
 before Saragossa.....  
 division, composed of the 4th light  
 of the 10th and 11th military divisions  
 battalions arrived from the depots of  
 battalions of infantry on the march to  
 the corps of observation of the Basque  
 and Neapolitan troops, formed at  
 march, lancers of the Victoria, caval



# NOTES

AND

## ILLUSTRATIONS.

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### BOOK FIRST.

No. I.

See Page 8.

NOTE DELIVERED TO THE PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT BY THE  
FIRST SECRETARY OF LEGATION, ACTING AS MINISTER PLE-  
NIPOTENTIARY OF FRANCE.

THE undersigned has received orders to declare, that if, by the 1st of September next, His Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal has not shown his intention of withdrawing from English influence, by declaring, without delay, war against England, dismissing the minister of His Britannic Majesty, recalling the Portuguese ambassador from London, detaining as hostages the English established in Portugal, confiscating the English merchandize, shutting his ports to English vessels, and, in short, uniting his fleets with those of the Continental powers, His Royal Highness the Prince Regent of Portugal will be considered as having renounced the Continental System, and in that case, the undersigned has orders to demand his passports, and to withdraw by declaring war.

The undersigned, on considering the motives which should determine the Court of Portugal at the present juncture, cannot but hope that, enlightened by wise counsels, it will embrace openly and without reserve, the political system most conformable to its dignity and interests, and that it will at last openly decide on making common cause with all the governments of the Continent, against the oppressors of the sea, and the enemies of the navigation of all nations.

*Lisbon, August 12th, 1807.*

RAYNEVAL

No. II.

See Page 15.

SECRET TREATY BETWEEN HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH, AND HIS CATHOLIC MAJESTY THE KING OF SPAIN.

NAPOLEON, by the grace of God, &c. &c. &c., Having read and examined the treaty concluded and signed at Fontainebleau, October 27, by Michael Duroc, General of Division, Grand-Marshal of the Palace, &c. &c. in virtue of the full powers given by us to him to this effect, with Don Eugenio Izquierdo de Ribera y Lezaun, Honorary Councillor of State of His Majesty the King of Spain, furnished equally with full powers by his Sovereign, which treaty is conceived as follows:—

His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, &c. &c. and His Catholic Majesty the King of Spain, being earnestly desirous of regulating the interests of both their States, and to determine the future condition of Portugal in a manner conformable with the policy of the two nations, have appointed as their Ministers Plenipotentiaries, viz. on the part of His Majesty the Emperor of the French, Michael Duroc, General of Division, Grand-Marshal of the Palace, &c. &c.; and on the part of His Catholic Majesty the King of Spain, Don Eugenio Izquierdo de Ribera y Lezaun, Honorary Councillor of State, &c. &c., who, after having exchanged their credentials, agreed on the following articles:—



I. The provinces between Minho and Douro, with the city of Oporto, shall be bestowed, in full sovereignty and possession, on His Majesty the King of Etruria, with the title of King of Northern Lusitania.

II. The kingdom of Alemtejo and the kingdom of the Algarves, shall be given, in full sovereignty and possession, to the Prince of the Peace, to enjoy them with the title of Prince of Algarves.

III. The fate of the provinces of Beira, Tras-os-Montes, and Portuguese Estremadura, shall remain undecided till the general peace, when they shall be disposed of according to circumstances, and in the manner which shall then be determined by the high contracting parties.

IV. The kingdom of Northern Lusitania shall be possessed by the hereditary descendants of His Majesty the King of Etruria, conformably to the laws of succession adopted by the reigning family of His Majesty the King of Spain.

V. The principality of Algarves is hereditary in the line of the Prince of the Peace, according to the laws of succession adopted by the reigning family of His Majesty the King of Spain.

VI. In default of descendant or legitimate heir of the King of Northern Lusitania, or of the Prince of Algarves, these countries shall be given to His Majesty the King of Spain, by form of investiture, on the condition that they shall never be re-united under one head, nor re-united to the crown of Spain.

VII. The kingdom of Northern Lusitania and the principality of Algarves shall also acknowledge, as protector, His Catholic Majesty the King of Spain; and the Sovereigns of these countries shall never, in any case, make war or peace without his consent.

VIII. In the case that the provinces of Beira, Tras-os-Montes, and Portuguese Estremadura, now under sequestration, shall, at the general peace, be restored to the House of Braganza, in exchange for Gibraltar, Trinidad, and other colonies

conquered by England from Spain and her allies, the new sovereign of these countries shall be held to the same obligations toward His Majesty the King of Spain, as the King of Northern Lusitania, and the Prince of the Algarves.

IX. His Majesty the King of Etruria cedes the kingdom of Etruria, in full sovereignty and possession, to his Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy.

X. When the definitive occupation of Portugal shall have been effected, the respective Princes put in possession of it will appoint commissioners conjointly, for fixing the stipulated limits.

XI. His Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy guarantees to His Catholic Majesty the King of Spain, the possession of his estates on the Continent of Europe to the South of the Pyrenees.

XII. His Majesty the Emperor of the French and King of Italy consents to acknowledge His Catholic Majesty the King of Spain as Emperor of both the Americas, at the period which shall be determined on by His Catholic Majesty for assuming that title, which shall take place either at the general peace, or, at the latest, after three years.

XIII. It is understood by the high contracting parties, that the islands, colonies, and other maritime possessions of Portugal, shall be equally divided between them.

XIV. The present treaty shall be kept secret. It shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged at Madrid within twenty days, at the latest, from the date of the signature.

Done at Fontainebleau,

October 27, 1807.

Duroc.

E. IZQUIERDO

Lower down is written:—

We have approved, and do approve, by these presents, of the preceding treaty, and all and each of the articles contained in it. We declare it to be accepted, ratified, and confirmed, and promise that it shall be inviolably observed.

In testimony of which, we have signed these presents with our own hand, after having affixed thereto our imperial seal.

Fontainebleau, October 29, 1807.

NAPOLÉON.

CHAMPAGNY, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

MARET, Secretary of State.

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No. III.

See Page 15.

**SECRET CONVENTION CONCLUDED AT FONTAINEBLEAU, BETWEEN HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH, AND HIS CATHOLIC MAJESTY THE KING OF SPAIN, BY WHICH THE TWO HIGH CONTRACTING PARTIES REGULATE WHAT RELATES TO THE OCCUPATION OF PORTUGAL.**

NAPOLÉON, by the grace of God, &c. &c. &c., Having seen and examined the Convention concluded, determined, and signed at Fontainebleau, the 27th October, 1807, by the General of Division, Michael Duroc, &c. &c., on one part, and on the other by Don Eugenio Izquierdo, &c. which Convention is as follows:—

His Majesty the Emperor of the French, King of Italy, &c. &c. &c., and His Catholic Majesty the King of Spain, desiring to regulate the bases of an arrangement relative to the occupation and conquest of Portugal, in consequence of the stipulation of the treaty signed this day, have named, &c. &c.; who, after having exchanged their credentials, have agreed on the following articles:—

I. A body of 25,000 infantry and 3000 cavalry, of troops of His Imperial Majesty, shall enter Spain to proceed directly to Lisbon; it shall be joined by a body of Spanish troops, consisting of 8000 infantry and 3000 cavalry, with 30 pieces of artillery.

II. At the same time a division of 10,000 Spanish troops shall take possession of the province of Entre-Minho e Douro, and the city of Oporto; and another division of 6000



Spanish troops shall take possession of Alemtejo and the kingdom of Algarves.

III. The French troops shall be supported and maintained by Spain, and their pay furnished by France, during their march through Spain.

IV. From the moment when the combined troops have entered Portugal, the government and administration of the provinces of Beira, Tras-os-Montes, and Portuguese Estremadura (which remain sequestered), shall be put into the hands of the General commanding the French troops, and the contributions arising from them shall be levied for the benefit of France. The provinces which are to form the kingdom of Northern Lusitania and the principality of Algarves, shall be administered and governed by the Spanish divisions which shall take possession of them, and the contributions shall be levied on behalf of Spain.

V. The central corps shall be under the orders of the commander of the French troops, to whom also the Spanish troops attached to this army will be subordinate; but if the King of Spain or the Prince of the Peace should judge proper to join this body, the French troops, together with their Commander, shall be under their orders.

VI. Another corps of 40,000 French troops shall be assembled at Bayonne, by the 20th of November next, at latest, to be ready to enter Spain, for the purpose of marching to Portugal, in case the English should send reinforcements there, or threaten it with an attack. But this new corps shall not enter Spain, till the two high contracting parties have mutually agreed on this point.

VII. The present Convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged at the same time with the treaties of this day.

Done at Fontainebleau, October 27, 1807.

We have approved, and do approve, of these presents, &c.  
&c. as under.

NAPOLEON.

CHAMPAGNY. H. B. MARET.



## No. IV.

See Page 20.

## PROCLAMATION OF GENERAL JUNOT,

THE Governor of Paris, First Aid-de-camp of His Majesty the Emperor and King, Knight of the Order of Christ in Portugal, General-in-chief.

## Portuguese.

The Emperor Napoleon has sent me into your country at the head of an army, to make common cause with your beloved Sovereign against the tyrants of the seas, and to preserve your fine capital from the fate of Copenhagen.

Peaceful inhabitants of the country, fear nothing; the discipline of my army is equal to its bravery; I answer on my honour for its good conduct. Give it the reception due to the soldiers of the Great Napoleon, and furnish it with the necessary provisions; but above all, let the inhabitants of the country remain peaceful at home.

I shall inform you of the measures adopted for the preservation of public tranquillity. I shall adhere to my word.

Every soldier found pillaging shall be punished on the spot, with the greatest severity.

Every individual raising a contribution, shall be brought before a Council of War, to be judged according to the rigour of the laws.

Every inhabitant of the Kingdom of Portugal, who, not being a soldier of the troops of the line, shall be found making part of an armed assembly, shall be shot.

Every individual convicted of being at the head of a tumult, or of a conspiracy tending to arm the citizens against the French army, shall be shot.

Every city or village in the territory, where any individual belonging to the French army has been assassinated, shall pay a contribution not less than triple its ordinary annual contribution. The four principal inhabitants shall serve as hostages for

the payment, and the more effectually to exert exemplary justice, the first village or town, where a Frenchman is assassinated shall be burnt and razed to the ground.

But I would fain persuade myself that the Portuguese knowing their true interests, and seconding the pacific views of their prince, will receive us as friends, and that particularly, the city of Lisbon will see me with pleasure enter its walls at the head of an army which can alone save it from becoming a prey to the eternal enemies of the Continent.

*Head Quarters at Alcantara,*

*JUNOY.*

*Nov. 17th, 1808.*

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No. V.

See Page 40.

**EDICT OF THE PRINCE REGENT OF PORTUGAL.**

HAVING always used the greatest care to preserve to my States during the present war, the most perfect neutrality, on account of the notable advantages resulting from it to the inhabitants of this crown, but not being able any longer to preserve it, and considering, besides, how much a general pacification would promote the interests of humanity, I have resolved for this end to accede to the cause of the Continent by joining with His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of the French, and King of Italy, and with His Catholic Majesty, in order to contribute as far as is in my power to the acceleration of a general peace. To this end I have been pleased to ordain that the ports of this Kingdom, after this moment, shall be shut against the entry of the ships of Great Britain, as well commercial, as of war.

Given at the Palace of Mafra, October 20, 1807.

**THE PRINCE.**

## No. VI.

See Page 46

**OFFICIAL DECLARATION OF THE BLOCKADE OF THE MOUTH  
OF THE TAGUS.**

I HEREBY make known to all concerned, that as it is notorious that the ports of Portugal are shut against the flag of Great Britain, and that the Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty at the Court of Lisbon has quitted that capital, conformably to the instructions sent by the undersigned Vice-admiral of the Blue, commander-in-chief,—the mouth of the Tagus is declared in a state of strict blockade. I hereby inform the Portuguese government, that orders are given that this measure be rigorously executed, so long as the present state of misunderstanding exists. The consuls of neutrals will inform their governments in proper time, that the river is in a state of blockade, and that all the measures authorized by the laws of nations, and the respective treaties between His Britannic Majesty and neutral states, will be taken against vessels attempting to enter.

Given on board the *Hibernia*, at the mouth of the Tagus,  
November 20, 1807.

W. SIDNEY SMITH.

## No. VII.

See Page 50.

**DECREE OF THE PRINCE REGENT OF PORTUGAL, BY WHICH  
HE DECLARES HIS INTENTION OF TRANSPORTING HIS  
COURT TO BRAZIL, AND OF FORMING A COUNCIL OF GO-  
VERNMENT DURING HIS ABSENCE.**

AFTER having exerted to no purpose, all my efforts for preserving an advantageous neutrality to my faithful and beloved vassals; after having, to attain this, sacrificed all my treasures, and been led, to the great prejudice of my subjects, to shut my



ports to my ancient and loyal ally the King of Great Britain, I see advancing towards the interior of my states, the troops of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, from whom, as his territory is not contiguous to mine, I conceived myself in no danger of attack. These troops are advancing on my capital. Considering the uselessness of a defence, and wishing to prevent the unnecessary effusion of human blood, and presuming that my faithful subjects will suffer less in these circumstances if I absent myself from the kingdom, I have determined, for their advantage, to set sail, with the Queen and all my family, for my American states, and to establish myself in the city of Rio-de-Janeiro, till the return of a general peace.

Considering that it is my duty, as well as for the interest of my subjects, to leave a government which should watch over their welfare, I have appointed as governors of the kingdom during my absence, my well-beloved cousin the Marquis d'Abrantes, the Lieutenant-general of my armies, Francis da Cunha de Menezes, the principal Castro of my Council, who shall be at the head of the department of justice, Pedro de Mello Brayner, of my Council, president of the Royal Treasury, D. Francisco de Noronha, Lieutenant-general of my Armies, who shall be president of the Tribunal of Orders and of Conscience.

In case any of the above-named should fail, his place will be taken by the Great Huntsman of the kingdom, whom I have appointed governor of the Senate of Lisbon. The Council will be assisted by the Count de Sampayo, and by Joao Antonio Salter de Mendonça, whom I appoint Secretaries. Should the place of either become vacant, it shall be filled by D. Miguel Pereira Forjaz. From the confidence I place in them, and from their long experience of business, I feel assured they will perform their duties punctually, that they will administer justice with impartiality, distribute rewards and punishments according to the merits of each, and that my people will be governed in such a manner as to satisfy my conscience.

The governors will consider this as my orders. They will conform to the present decree, as well as to the annexed instructions,



and impart the necessary information to the competent authorities.

Given at the Palace of our Lady of Ajuda, November 26, 1807.

THE PRINCE.

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INSTRUCTIONS REFERRED TO IN THE ROYAL DECREE OF  
NOVEMBER 26, 1807.

THE Governors of the Kingdom, appointed by my decree of this day, will take the customary oath before the Cardinal Patriarch.

They will maintain the rigorous observance of the laws of the Kingdom.

They will secure to the natives all the privileges granted them by myself and my ancestors.

They will decide, by a majority of voices, the questions submitted to them by the various tribunals.

They will fill up the situations in the administration, in the finance, and in the courts of justice, in the forms used by me to the present time.

They will protect the persons and property of my faithful subjects.

They will choose, for military officers, persons known for their good services.

They will endeavour to preserve peace in the country, as far as possible; to see that the troops of the Emperor of the French have good lodging; that they are supplied with every thing necessary during their stay in this country, and that no insult be offered them under the most rigorous penalties, always preserving that good harmony which should subsist between us and the armies of nations with whom we may be united on the Continent.

In case of vacancy, by death or otherwise, of one of the offices of Governor of the Kingdom, such office shall be filled up by the voice of the majority. I confide in their honourable and vir-

tuous sentiments. I hope my people will suffer nothing by my absence, and that returning to them soon, by the permission of God, I shall find them contented and satisfied, and animated with the same spirit which renders them so worthy of my paternal regards.

Given at the Palace of our Lady of Ajuda, November 26, 1807. THE PRINCE.

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No. VIII.

See Page 59.

PROCLAMATION OF GENERAL JUNOT.

The Governor of Paris, First Aid-de-camp of His Majesty the Emperor and King, Knight of the Order of Christ of Portugal, General-in-chief.

Inhabitants of Lisbon,

My army is about to enter your walls. It comes to save your port and prince from the influence of England.

But this Prince, so respectable from his virtues, has suffered himself to be misled by some designing people who surround him, and has thrown himself into the arms of his enemies. His personal safety has been represented to him as uncertain, the welfare of his subjects has been totally disregarded, and your interests have been sacrificed at the shrine of a few unprincipled courtiers.

Inhabitants of Lisbon, remain tranquil in your houses; dread neither my army, nor myself. We are only terrible to our enemies, and to the wicked.

Napoleon the Great, my master, has sent me to protect you, and I will protect you.

*Head-Quarters, Sacavem,*

JUNOT.

Nov. 29, 1807.

## BOOK THE SECOND.

## No. IX.

See Page 67.

ORDER OF THE DAY FOR THE SPANISH ARMY OF ESTREMA-  
DURA, DECEMBER 8, 1807.

FEROCITY has nothing in common with bravery ; it is always a proof of barbarity, and most frequently of cowardice.

The greatest confidence, and the greatest honour, which the king can show to a subject, is to entrust him with the command of his armies ; which have been always devoted to the preservation of the monarchy, the support of religion and the laws, the defence of his people, and the protection of his allies. When the Portuguese Government gives us proof of its friendship, by receiving us upon its territory, we should be exhibiting ourselves as most unworthily wanting to the Spanish character, and to all laws, if we behaved ourselves as enemies. War has its rights and its laws ; it cannot be declared but by the heads of Governments. We the governed are not authorized to fight, except by superior orders. All that is done beyond them, is assassination, the punishment of which belongs to universal justice, as a crime odious to humanity.

Having been entrusted with an important expedition, we are most anxious to justify the expectations of our sovereign. We are proud of his confidence. We disavow all whose bad conduct would tend to tarnish the reputation of the army : such persons I will not suffer to remain in our ranks. Insults by word or deed, raillery, or provocations to renew barbarous quarrels, and popular prejudices, I will irremissibly and severely punish, not only according to the positive rules fixed by the law, but also by the application of arbitrary punishments, the rigour of which I will temper according to the importance of the facts, their consequences, the baseness of the proceeding, the disobedience to the King, and the dishonour which may result from them to the

Spanish name. The soldier shall receive all that is necessary for him. When any thing may be wanting, we shall know how to support momentary privations, which will be lightened by the advantage of preserving a good name, and by the honour of accomplishing a great enterprize. I know my soldiers personally; they will not degrade themselves. They have not come from Andalusia with me, to disobey the King and dishonour the nation.

From the Head-Quarters at Badajos, November 30, 1807.

THE MARQUIS DEL SOCORRO.

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PROCLAMATION OF GENERAL TARANCO.

Don Francisco de Taranco y Llano, Governor and Captain-General of the kingdom of Galicia, Lieutenant-General of the Armies of His Catholic Majesty, &c. &c. at present General of the Army of Operation in Portugal.

Inhabitants of the provinces of Entre-Douro-e-Minho, and of Tras-os-Montes, be not uneasy, but remain tranquil. The Spanish army which I command, will not trouble you in your laws and customs. Behave to it with the kindness which its bravery and humane character deserve, and you will find in it reciprocal sentiments. This I promise and solemnly engage to you, in the name of the King my master, a monarch equally just and beneficent. As the general of his armies, the minister of his justice and his clemency, I will be the faithful executor of his royal intentions: these are, to protect you in the deplorable situation in which you are placed by the absence of your Sovereign, and to liberate you from the perfidious dominion and ambitious policy of the English, covering their insidious intentions under the mask of friendship. Be assured that all the measures that are taken, are of a nature to improve your situation, to withdraw you from the shameful tutelage of the English Government, and to organize the political system.

The time is now arrived when you ought to know the true interests of your country; you will unite your wishes and your



strength with ours; we shall all of us together avenge the injuries which the treacherous ferocity of the English has inflicted on all the nations of Europe; we shall be placed beyond the reach of their intrigues, and you will enjoy the protection which the Catholic King, my master, grants you.

All that I promise you shall be religiously observed. I pledge my word to you, that every Spanish soldier who is guilty of pillage, or any other crime, shall be punished with the utmost rigour of the law; and that every native or inhabitant of Portugal, who shall take part in any conspiracy or tumult against the Spanish army, shall be shot. The city, town, or village, in which a shot shall be fired against the Spanish troops, shall deliver up the offender, or become responsible for the crime. The same obligation is imposed on the magistrates of the jurisdiction, or of the parish, or the territory, in which a Spanish soldier shall have been shot; besides which, that jurisdiction or parish shall pay three times its annual contribution, and the four principal inhabitants shall be retained as hostages for the discharge of this fine.

If there shall be no occasion to inflict the punishments above declared, I shall feel particular satisfaction; which will be still greater at seeing the Portuguese and Spaniards attached to each other; and that instead of deserving punishment, their conduct is worthy of reward.

*Oporto, December 13, 1807.*

FRANCISCO DE TARANCO.

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No. X.

See Page 71.

DECREE OF GENERAL JUNOT.

THE Governor of Paris, First Aid-de-camp to His Majesty the Emperor and King, General in Chief.

Inhabitants of Lisbon,

Revolt is the greatest of all crimes.

You allowed yourselves to be led astray yesterday by some evil-disposed persons, who, in order to compromise you, fired

upon my troops, who were in the midst of you. I know then. They shall pay with their lives for the insult which they dared to offer to the French colours. I do not confound with them the respectable inhabitants of Lisbon, and it is for the security of good citizens, that I order what follows :—

All assemblages are forbidden, whatever may be their object. Whoever is found with arms in a mob, shall be taken before the military commission, which is created by my decree of this day, in order to be tried ; condemned to three months' imprisonment if he has not made use of arms, and suffer death in case he shall have used them.

Every individual arrested in a mob, who shall be proved to be one of the ringleaders in a revolt, shall be punished with death.

Given at the Palace of the Head-Quarters at Lisbon, December 14th, 1807. Junot.

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No. XI.

See Page 77.

Don José Francisco de Mendonça, Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, born in 1725, was the Patriarch of Lisbon. On the arrival of the army commanded by Junot, this Prelate published the following Charge, and died a few months afterwards.

JOSEPH II., CARDINAL PATRIARCH OF LISBON, TO ALL THE FAITHFUL ECCLESIASTICS AND SECULARS OF OUR PATRIARCHATE, HEALTH AND BENEDICTION.

DEARLY beloved Sons in Jesus Christ! Although our advanced age and the weight of the infirmities which it has pleased the Divine Mercy to inflict upon us, prevent us from speaking to you by word of mouth, we can at least address ourselves to you as your father and your pastor, as we have already done through the medium of our curates and our preachers, and

make known to you our sentiments and our exhortations, in order, that when the fatal day comes, we may not be accused of omission in an essential and important duty of our sacred ministry, the object of which is to keep you united in Christian charity, in order to obtain the repose and peace for which all of us have occasion in the present circumstances.

Yes, dearly beloved Sons! You know by your own experience the situation in which we are placed; but neither are you ignorant of the favours which the Divine Clemency has granted us in the midst of such great tribulations. Blessed be the judgments of the Most High! It is therefore necessary that we should conform ourselves to the immutable decrees of His Divine Providence, and for that purpose we must first of all thank Him with a contrite and humbled heart, for the benefits which we are constantly receiving from His bountiful hand. Not one of the least has been the calmness and good order with which this kingdom has received that great army, which coming to our assistance, gives us well-grounded hopes of happiness. For that we owe the tribute of gratitude to the activity and good management of the General-in-chief, whose virtues have been long known to us.

Fear nothing, dearly beloved Sons! Live in peace in your houses and abroad. Recollect that the army which surrounds you is that of the Emperor of the French and King of Italy, Napoleon the Great, whom God has destined to be the protector of nations and the author of their felicity. You know him—the whole world knows him. Place the most unchangeable confidence in this wonderful man, whose like past ages have never known. He will bestow upon us the blessing of peace, if you respect his determinations, if you love each other mutually, natives and foreigners, with a fraternal charity. Thus, religion and its ministers will be always respected: the cloisters in which the betrothed of the Lord are shut up, will not be violated; the people will be happy. Act thus, dearly beloved Sons, in order to execute what Jesus Christ our Lord has so strongly recommended to you: viz. to live subject to the powers that be, not

only on account of the respect which we owe them, but also for the discharge of the duties which our conscience imposes on us.

We recommend to the curates and to the rest of the clergy of this patriarchate, and we beseech them, through the bowels of Jesus Christ, to use all their influence to promote and preserve this union, and to give to the faithful such instructions will make them thoroughly aware of the advantages which this conduct will procure for them.

And that no one may plead ignorance, we order the present pastoral letter to be read before sermon in all the churches, and that it shall be fixed up in the usual places.

Given at La Junqueira, in the Palace of our Residence, under our seal, and sealed with the seal of our arms, the 8th of December, 1807.

J. CARDINAL PATRIARCH.

By his Eminence,

THOMAS ANTONIO CAMERINO.

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No. XII.

See Page 82.

IMPERIAL DECREE.

Napoleon, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, We have decreed and decree as follows:

ART. I. An extraordinary war contribution of One Hundred Millions of Francs, shall be laid on the kingdom of Portugal, to serve as the ransom of private property, under whatever denomination that may be.

II. This contribution shall be distributed by provinces, and by towns, according to the means of each, under the direction of the General-in-Chief of our army, who will take the necessary measures for its speedy payment.

III. All the estates belonging to the Queen of Portugal, to



the Prince Regent, and to the Princes holding of the Crown, shall be sequestered.

IV. All the estates belonging to the persons who accompanied the Prince Regent when he quitted the country, and who shall not have returned into the kingdom by the 15th of February, 1808, shall be equally sequestered.

Given at the Royal Palace of Milan, the 23rd of December, 1807. NAPOLEON.

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No. XIII.

See Page 84.

PROCLAMATION OF GENERAL JUNOT.

The Governor of Paris, first Aid-de-camp of His Majesty the Emperor and King, General-in-Chief

Inhabitants of the Kingdom of Portugal!

Your interests have engaged the attention of His Majesty the Emperor, our august master; all irresolution must now cease: the fate of Portugal is fixed, and its future happiness is secured, since Napoleon the Great takes it under his all-powerful protection.

The Prince of Brazil, by abandoning Portugal, has renounced all his rights to the sovereignty of this kingdom. The House of Braganza has ceased to reign over Portugal. The Emperor Napoleon orders this fine country to be administered and governed entirely in his name, and by the General-in-Chief of his army.

The task which is imposed upon me by this mark of the goodness and confidence of my master, is difficult to fulfil; but I hope to succeed in it, with the assistance of the best informed men in the kingdom, and the good-will of all the inhabitants.

I have established a council of government to enlighten me upon the good that is to be effected: administrators will be sent into the provinces to ascertain the means of ameliorating the ad-

ministration, and establishing order and economy in it. I shall order roads to be opened and canals excavated, in order to facilitate intercourse, and make agriculture and the national industry flourish: these two branches which are so necessary to the prosperity of a country, and which it will be easy to raise with an intelligent, patient, and brave people. The Portuguese troops, commanded by their most distinguished leaders, will soon form but one family with the soldiers of Marengo, of Austerlitz, of Jena, of Friedland, and will only be their rivals in courage and discipline. The finances, properly administered, will secure to every officer of the government the price of his labour; public instruction, the mother of the civilization of nations, shall be diffused in every province, and the provinces of the Algarves and of Beira Alta will perhaps some day have also their Camoens. The religion of your fathers, that which we all of us profess, shall be protected and supported by the same will which has restored it in the vast French empire, but freed from the superstitions which degrade it; justice shall be administered with equity, and disentangled from the delays and arbitrary rules with which it was shackled. The public tranquillity shall be no longer disturbed by a frightful system of robbery, the result of idleness; and if there are incorrigible villains, a strict police shall deliver society from them. Loathsome beggary shall no longer exhibit its rags and filth in this superb metropolis, nor in the interior of the kingdom; houses of reprobation shall be appointed for that purpose; the poor cripple will there find an asylum, and the idler employment, in labour necessary even for his preservation.

Inhabitants of the kingdom of Portugal! rest secure and tranquil; repel the instigations of those who would wish to urge you to revolt, and to whom the spilling of blood is of no consequence, provided it be continental blood; follow your labours with confidence, and you will reap the fruits of them. If it is necessary for you to make some sacrifices at the first moments, it is only to enable the government to improve your condition; they are besides indispensable for the maintenance

of a great army, which is necessary for the vast designs of the great Napoleon. His vigilant eye is fixed upon you, and your future happiness is secured. You will be equally dear to him with his French subjects; but take care to deserve his bounty by your respect and submission to his will.

Given at the Palace of the Head-Quarters at Lisbon, the 1st of February, 1808. JUNOT.

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No. XIV.

See Page 91.

ORDER OF THE DAY OF THE 24TH OF APRIL.

The General-in-Chief, satisfied with the conduct of the crew of His Imperial and Royal Majesty's sloop *La Gavotte*, commanded by M. Leblond-Plassan, Lieutenant of the vessel, in the action which took place during the night of the 22d of this month, between the said sloop and five English long-boats, with more than 150 men on board, hastens to make known to the army, by means of the order of the day, the following particulars.

About two in the morning, five English long-boats boarded *La Gavotte*, at two different times, and were each time beat off with pikes and pistol shots. The third time the long-boats tried to board, they were received with so warm and well-directed a fire, that they only thought of saving themselves, by leaving to their fate such of their men as got entangled in the ropes, and who were then thrown into the sea.

On this occasion, the enemy lost at least forty men. The officer commanding the expedition was killed by M. Leblond-Plassan; his hat and pistol were left in the possession of the commandant of the marine.

We lost only one man, who formed one of the detachment of the Hanoverian legion on board *La Gavotte*.

The English wished to celebrate the anniversary of St. George's day. It was not thus that the French army solemn-



nized the anniversary of their Emperor's coronation, and of the battle of Marengo.

Given at the Palace of the Head-Quarters at Lisbon, the  
26th of April, 1808. JUNOT.

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No. XV.

See Page 97.

LETTER OF THE PORTUGUESE DEPUTATION TO THEIR  
FELLOW-CITIZENS.

Gentlemen,

The confidence which you have placed in the great Prince, to whom we have had the honour of being the interpreters of your sentiments and wishes, has been inspired, not so much by the mere instinct of the interests of our country, as by the desire of committing the decision of our fate to the powerful monarch whose ideas are occupied with the restoration of our country, as well as by the re-construction of the state of Europe.

The period of our residence on the French frontiers, which preceded the arrival of His Imperial and Royal Majesty, exhibited to us in its full extent, the empire which this puissant monarch exercises over all hearts. The constantly increasing acclamations of his subjects, gave us notice of the moment which was to crown their happiness and to commence ours.

His Imperial Majesty devoted the first day of his arrival at Bayonne to his subjects, (it is the customary offering of his anxiety for them). He deigned to grant us the second.

His Majesty's acquaintance with every thing connected with your situation, with your wants, and with your interests, anticipated all that we had to tell him. If any thing can equal his genius, it is the greatness of his soul, and the generosity of his principles.

During the time that His Majesty deigned to converse with us on our political situation, with the most encouraging affa-



lity, he expressed the kindest wishes for our happiness, and exhibited the most elevated principles, as to the employment of the rights which circumstances have given him over us. His Majesty has not entered our country as a conqueror, nor does he wish to be regarded in that light; he knows that you have never been at war with him; his empire is separated from our country by too great a distance to enable him to watch over us with the attention which he bestows on his other states, and which is sufficient for their wants, and for the affection he bears to those who have the happiness to be his subjects. There are too many inconveniences attending the delegation of great powers to remote distances. His Majesty retains no sentiment of rancour, of hatred, or of revenge against the prince who governed us, nor against his family. He is occupied with more noble objects; the point at which he is aiming, is to attach you, with the other parts of Europe, to the great continental system which he is establishing, and of which we must form the last ring. His object is to withdraw you from the foreign influence under the dominion of which you have lived so many years. The Emperor cannot suffer an English colony on the Continent; the Emperor will not, and cannot, suffer that prince ever to set his foot in Portugal, who quitted it under the protection of English vessels.

His Imperial and Royal Majesty, considering the different reports of your situation, deigned to declare to us that our fate was in our own hands; that it depended on the public spirit we showed; on the firmness with which we attached ourselves to the continental system, and concurred in events already prepared, as well as on our vigilance and constancy in repelling the insinuations and intrigues which we have to fear, and which, without being of any real advantage to the authors or objects of them, could only be injurious to us; that by these signs he would be enabled to judge if we are still worthy of forming a nation capable of supporting the prince who would have to govern us, of again resuming our rank among nations, or of being blended with that which is so nearly connected with us

by its position, but from which powerful motives keep us so distant.

You will see, with admiration and gratitude, in these wise dispositions, the profound knowledge of His Majesty, who does not wish to decide upon the fate of a nation until its actions have expressed what are its wishes. It is the duty of the magistrates and authorities among you, it is the duty of you all to give the greatest degree of publicity to the benevolent intentions of His Imperial and Royal Majesty. You will not belie the assurances that we have given him in your name; and when from the bottom of our hearts, the unanimous cry burst forth, that we wished to remain a nation, we are quite certain of having been there more than even your real representatives.

Prove to His Majesty, who, after so many storms, has made his country the *first* country of the earth, that *our* country does not deserve to be the *last*.

The Emperor is aware of the privations which the temporary interruption of your commerce has occasioned you. In this state of things there is nothing harder for you than for the rest of Europe and America; it is the result of a struggle, the termination of which must indemnify you for the sufferings of the present moment. The entrance of a French army on your territory, is an evil which has not escaped him. His Imperial and Royal Majesty is only anxious to prevent a recurrence of this evil; he appeared affected at the excessive contribution levied on Portugal, and his goodness led him to give us the assurance of reducing it within just bounds, and such as are compatible with our means. Our fellow-citizens who had been detained prisoners in France, are already indebted to his clemency, for their liberty.

It is by His Majesty's permission that we communicate to you his intentions. We are convinced that they will be received by you with feelings of gratitude, and the most sincere and lively anxiety to conform to them. We shall continue to discharge to His Majesty, and by his orders, a mission which is no longer surrounded with difficulties, since His Majesty's

goodness and wisdom have united to simplify our greatest interests.

*Bayonne, April 27th, 1808.*

MARQUIS DE PENALVA.

MARQUIS DE VALENÇA.

MARQUIS DE MARIALVA.

NUNO CAETANO ALVAREZ PEREIRA DE MELLO

JOSÉ, MARQUIS D'ABRANTES.

COUNT DE SABUGAL.

THE BISHOP OF COIMBRA, Inquisitor-General.

VISCOUNT DE BARBACENA.

LOURENÇO DE LIMA.

JOSÉ PRIOR MOR D'AVIS.

JOACHIM ALBERTO GEORGES.

ANTONIO THOMAS DA SILVA LEITAO.

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No. XVI.

See Page 102.

THIS address, of the following tenor, was drawn up by twelve delegates of the three estates, in the name of the secular and regular clergy, of the military orders, of the body of nobility, of the supreme tribunal called *desembargo do paco*, of nine other judicial and administrative councils, of the senate of Lisbon, of the judge of the people, and of the heads of the twenty-four corporations of trades.

**Sire!**

The representatives of the Portuguese nation, of that nation which in the annals of the world is known, and we may venture to add, celebrated by its conquests and its fidelity, have the honour to present themselves before the august throne of your Imperial and Royal Majesty.

Portugal, Sire! was doomed to feel the rebound of the extraordinary events which have agitated the whole of Europe; it



has been made the innocent victim of the political errors of its government.

On considering the interests and the relations which constitute the present federative system of Europe, and relying on the benevolent disposition which your Imperial Majesty has deigned to manifest towards Portugal, we feel ourselves warranted in entertaining the strongest hopes of a happy future; we fancy we are already in the enjoyment of it, under the ægis and magnanimous protection of the hero of the world, the arbiter of kings and people, who is the only one who can heal the wounds of our country, preserve it from the danger of slavery, and give it that distinguished place among the powers of Europe, which the profound policy of your Majesty seems to have already marked out for it.

Your present situation, and the calculation of probabilities, make us clearly comprehend the causes of the evils we have suffered, and the only remedy which can put a stop to them.

As the interpreters and depositaries of the wishes of the whole nation, and in its name, we implore your Majesty to admit us to form one day a portion of the great family of which you are the all-powerful and beneficent head and father, and we venture to flatter ourselves that we shall merit the favour.

Your Majesty's representative, the General-in-chief, and the whole army can attest what is the public spirit of our nation, which neither the privations, nor the great sacrifices which circumstances have imposed upon us, have ever been able to weaken; they have ascertained that we all profess towards your Majesty sentiments of admiration, of respect, and of gratitude, which the intrigues and the insinuations of the enemies of our tranquillity, and above all, the detestable example of our neighbours, have only served to strengthen, by developing the ancient germs of affection which have always subsisted between the two nations.

The Portuguese have not forgotten that their first sovereign, Prince Henry, was a French Prince; they are fully convinced



that Portugal cannot preserve her independence, resume her ancient energy, and the feeling of her proper dignity, but with the aid of your Majesty's benevolent dispositions.

Happy shall we be if your Majesty considers us worthy to be reckoned in the number of his faithful subjects!

But if, in your Majesty's elevated views, it should be thought that our geographical situation, or some political motives, should deprive us of the enjoyment of that happiness, let your Majesty deign to give us a prince of your own selection, to whom we may entrust, with equal respect and confidence, the defence of our laws, our rights, our religion, and the most sacred interests of our country.

We hope, Sire, that under the auspices of Divine Providence, secure in the glorious protection of your Majesty, and regenerated by the tutelar government, which we unanimously supplicate your Majesty to grant to us, Portugal, fixed on an eternal basis, by the affection of the greatest of monarchs, and united to the destinies of France by a similar political constitution, will see a revival of the happy days of her former grandeur, that her prosperity may be as solid as your glory, and eternal like your name!

*Bayonne, May 24th, 1808.*

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No. XVII.

See Page 102.

PLAN OF A CONSTITUTION FOR PORTUGAL.

THE Portuguese, remembering that they are of French origin, being descendants of those warriors who conquered this fine country from the Moors, in 1147, and that they are indebted to France, their mother country, for the recovery of their independence in 1640, hasten, with respect and gratitude, to have recourse to the paternal protection which the greatest of monarchs is good enough to grant them. The immortal Napoleon

deigns to inform us of his will by the organ of our deputies; he desires to see us happy, and that we should be bound by indissoluble ties to the continental system of the European family; he desires that the nations which compose this great family should live in harmony; and, that they may soon enjoy the blessings of a long peace, under the protection of wise governments, founded on the great basis of legislation, of the liberty of the seas, and freedom of commerce.

Portuguese! this is our only interest, as well as that of the other confederated nations; let our deputation, therefore, continue to be the interpreter to His Imperial and Royal Majesty of our unanimous wishes, and let it say to him:

Sire! We desire to be still greater than we were, when we opened the ocean to the whole universe.

We ask for a constitution, and a constitutional king, who may be a prince of the blood of your imperial family.

We should be happy to have a constitution similar in all respects to that which your Imperial and Royal Majesty has thought good to give to the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, with the only difference, that the representatives of the nation should be chosen by the municipal chambers, in conformity to our ancient usages.

We wish for a constitution, in which, like that of Warsaw, the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Religion, shall be the religion of the state; in which the principles of the last concordat between the French Empire and the Holy See shall be adopted, by which the liberty, civil toleration, and public exercise of all modes of worship, are secured;

In which all the citizens are equal in the eye of the law:

In which our European territory shall be divided into eight departments, and in which the ecclesiastical circumscription shall correspond with the political division, so that there shall be but one archbishop and seven bishops;

In which our colonies, planted by our ancestors, and watered with their blood, shall be considered as provinces or departments, and forming an integral portion of the kingdom, in order that

their representatives, designated hereafter, may find the places which belong to them in our social organization, as soon as they shall come, or be able to come and occupy them ;

In which there shall be a special ministry to direct and superintend the public instruction ;

In which the press shall be free ; for ignorance and error have produced our decline ;

In which the executive power shall be assisted by a Council of State, and act solely through the medium of responsible ministers ;

In which the legislative power shall be exercised by two chambers, with the participation of the executive authority ;

In which the judicial order shall be independent, the Code Napoleon introduced into practice, and the sentences given with equity, publicity, and promptitude ;

In which the public functions shall be exercised exclusively by the most deserving natives, as is fixed by the second title of the Polish Constitution.

In which the estates in mortmain shall be put in circulation ;

In which taxes shall be imposed according to the means and fortune of each, without any exemption, and collected in an easy and unoppressive mode for the tax-payers ;

In which the debt of the state shall be consolidated and secured to the fullest extent, as there is no want of resources to meet it.

We wish, also, that the organization of the civil, financial, and judicial administrative bodies, should be regulated on the model of the French Empire, and, consequently, that the immense number of our public functionaries should be reduced ; but it is our wish and request, that all the discharged functionaries should receive their salaries during their lives, or at least a pension proportioned to the income of their situations, and that as vacancies occur, a preference should be given to them, over every other, in filling them up.

It was, no doubt, quite unnecessary to remind the Great Napo-



leon of this equitable measure ; but His Imperial and Royal Majesty, by desiring to learn our opinion on what is suitable to us, gives us evident proofs that he is even more our father than our sovereign ; since, like a good father, he deigns to consult his children, and lavishes on them the means of being happy.  
*Long live the Emperor !*

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BOOK THE THIRD.

No. XVIII.

See Page 130.

LETTER OF FERDINAND, PRINCE OF ASTURIAS, TO THE EMPEROR  
NAPOLEON.

SIRE—The fear of incommoding your Imperial and Royal Majesty in the midst of your exploits and the great affairs which continually surround you, has hitherto prevented me from satisfying directly what has been my most ardent wish ; namely, that of expressing, at least by writing, the sentiments of respect, esteem, and attachment, which I have vowed for a hero who eclipses all who have preceded him, and who has been sent by providence to save Europe from the total subversion which threatened her, to settle her tottering thrones, and to restore peace and happiness to nations.

The virtues of your Imperial Majesty, your moderation and goodness, even towards your most unjust and implacable enemies, have all led me to hope, that the expression of my sentiments would be received as the overflowing of a heart filled with admiration and the most sincere friendship.

The situation in which I have been placed for a long time, and which cannot have escaped the piercing eye of your Imperial Majesty, has also, hitherto, been a second obstacle to prevent my ready pen from expressing my wishes to your Imperial Majesty ; but full of the hope of finding the most powerful protection in your magnanimous generosity, I have come to



the determination, not only of testifying my heartfelt sentiments for your august person, but also of pouring them into your bosom, as into that of the most tender father.

It is a great misfortune for me, that circumstances compel me to conceal, as a crime, an action so just and praiseworthy ; but such are the fatal consequences of the extreme goodness of the best of kings.

Filled with respect and filial love for the author of my being, who possesses a heart the most generous and upright, I would never dare to repeat to any but your Imperial Majesty what you know better than myself—that these very qualities which are so estimable, but too often serve as instruments in the hands of the designing and the wicked, for concealing the truth from sovereigns, although a quality so consonant to a character like that of my respectable father.

If the men who, unfortunately, are found here, would allow him to know the character of your Imperial Majesty as I know it, with what ardour would he not wish to strengthen the ties that should unite our two houses ! and what means are more proper for that, than my seeking the honour of allying myself to a princess of your august family ? This is the unanimous wish of all my father's subjects, and would be also his own, I doubt not, in spite of the efforts of a few malevolent men, as soon as he knew the intentions of your Imperial Majesty, which is all that my heart desires : but this is not the interest of the perfidious and selfish men who surround him, and they may, in an unguarded moment, take him by surprise. Such is the motive of my fears.

Nothing but respect for your Imperial Majesty can overturn their designs, open the eyes of my good and beloved parents, render them happy, and at the same time bestow happiness on my nation and myself.

The whole world will more and more admire the goodness of your Imperial Majesty, who will always find in me a son the most devoted and grateful.

I implore therefore, with the greatest confidence, the paternal

protection of your Majesty, in order, not only to confer on me the honour of an alliance with your family, but to smooth all the difficulties, and remove all the obstacles which may be opposed to this object of my wishes.

This gracious effort on the part of your Imperial Majesty is so much the more necessary, as I, on my part, am totally unable to make any attempt of this nature; since it would be, perhaps represented as an insult offered to paternal authority; and since I have only one means left me, that of refusing with invincible constancy, to form an alliance with any one whatever, without the positive approbation and consent of your Imperial Majesty, from whom alone I wait the choice of a spouse.

This is a happiness which I expect from the goodness of your Imperial Majesty, praying God to preserve your valuable life for many years.

Written and signed, with my own hand and seal, at the Escurial, October 11th, 1807, by your Imperial and Royal Majesty's affectionate servant and brother,

FERDINAND.

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No. XIX.

See Page 131.

DECREE OF KING CHARLES IV.

God, who watches over all his creatures, prevents the consummation of atrocious deeds directed against innocent victims. It is by his omnipotent aid that I have been delivered from the most frightful catastrophe. My attendants, my subjects, all the world, know my religious habits, and the regularity of my conduct; all are attached to me, and show me those marks of veneration equally demanded by the respect due to a father, and the love required of his children. I was living tranquilly in the bosom of my family, in the confidence of this happiness, when an unknown hand placed before me and informed me of a plan, the most enormous and unexpected, carried on in my own

palace against my person. My life, which has been so often in danger, appeared too long to my successor, who, infatuated and blinded, and abjuring all those principles of religion which were imposed on him by the solicitude of paternal affection, had entered into a plan for dethroning me. I wished to satisfy myself of the truth of this fact. Having surprised him in my apartment, and found in his possession the cypher of his correspondence, and of the instructions he had received from the vile conspirators, I summoned to the examination the governor of the council, with other ministers, that they might prosecute the inquiry with the greatest diligence. All is finished, and the result is the detection of several individuals, whom I have ordered to be imprisoned.

My son will be confined to his apartments. This affliction adds to the weight of those which already oppress me; but as it is the most sensibly felt, so is it of most importance that it should be cleared up. I have therefore ordained that the result be published. I do not wish to conceal from my subjects the real nature of a sorrow which will be alleviated by their loyalty. I inform you of my intentions that you may promulgate them in the proper form.

San Lorenzo, October 30, 1807.

I, THE KING.

"To the Governor, *par interim*, of the  
Royal Council of Castile."

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No. XX.

See Page 136.

THE avowal of the growing uneasiness of Godoy, in his letters to Don Eugenio Izquierdo, his agent at Paris, must not be passed over. This correspondence forms part of the useful collection of Llorente, entitled "Memoirs relative to the History of the Revolution in Spain," published under the anagram of Don Juan Nellerto.

The 3d of November, 1807, five days after the discovery of



the conspiracy of the Escorial, the Prince of the Peace writes "Madrid is full of rumour and expectation. It occurs to me that Beauharnais said that the French troops would establish their head-quarters at Madrid. I have much to do against so many enemies, but the cannon will keep them in order."

The 18th of the same month, his apprehensions were still greater:—"Matters assume a terrible aspect. Be secret and attentive to what passes."

On the 24th, he expresses his fears in a manner still more decided:—

"The commotion at Madrid, excited by the reports issued from the French ambassadors, is not entirely appeased. Every thing is shaken, and I know not if my constancy can surmount so many evils. A thousand times I have meditated on giving up my official situations, and I shall carry my ideas into execution, only reserving the War-office Department, since that has been agreed on between our King and the Emperor. I intend putting the Infant Don Francisco at the head of the Admiralty. Being educated for this department, he may yet, in his parent's absence, be able to maintain himself against the attacks meditated on this establishment. Speak to the Grand-duke of Berg about this, in the spirit of my letter, for his opinion is of great importance to me. You know how fickle a nation's attachment is, and that its praise or blame shifts with equal facility. You perceive with what disasters I am threatened; in short, I am not at all easy."

At the date of December the 18th, he endeavours to persuade himself that should Napoleon come into Spain, it would be with pacific intentions, and he endeavours to compose his fears. "Be tranquil," he says to Izquierdo, "I am above every thing; the villany of traitors has shown their character, and furnished me with proofs which I could not otherwise have obtained."

This pretended calm was of short duration; the French troops entered Spain at all points, and spread over the provinces of the interior. On February 9th, 1808, the Prince of the Peace



writes to his confidant :—" I receive no letter from you. The treaty that you have signed is no longer in existence. The kingdom is overrun with French troops ; they are about to occupy the passes which lead into Portugal, and Junot commands the whole. Our remaining squadrons have been demanded, and orders are given for them to march, united with those of the Emperor. Every thing is in a state of uncertainty, intrigue, and apprehension ; public opinion is divided, the heir of the throne is implicated in a charge of high treason. The allied troops are living at our expense. We continue to pay the subsidy, while no consideration frees us from this charge. The Dutch loan has been made according to our advice, but we draw no benefit from it. You suspected at Paris! the ambassador a mere shadow! What the d——l does all this mean? How will it end? I summoned you to come and render an account, but you have not come. If you know any thing, tell me ; if not, make no mystery of it."

It was after this letter, and for the purpose of dispelling the fears of the Prince of the Peace, that Don Izquierdo solicited and obtained permission from the Emperor Napoleon to set out for Madrid.

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No. XXI.

See Page 144.

LETTER OF CHARLES IV. TO THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON.

SIR, my Brother ;—For a long time past, the Prince of the Peace has frequently solicited permission to give up his offices of Generalissimo and Admiral.

I have agreed to his wishes in these respects ; but as I cannot forget his services, and particularly his co-operation in my constant and invariable wish to maintain the alliance and intimate friendship which subsists between myself and your Imperial and Royal Majesty, this Prince will continue to possess my esteem.

Perfectly persuaded that nothing will be more agreeable to my subjects, nor better adapted for accomplishing the designs of our alliance, than the taking the charge myself of my sea and land forces, I have taken this resolution, and hasten to inform your Imperial and Royal Majesty of it, considering that you will see in this communication a new proof of my attachment to your person, and my constant desire to maintain the intimate relations which unite me to your Imperial and Royal Majesty, with the fidelity characteristic of me, and of which your Majesty has had the most signal and reiterated proofs. A continued rheumatism, which has deprived me for some days of the use of my right hand, prevents me from the pleasure of writing to your Majesty with my own hand. I am, with sentiments of the most perfect esteem and the most sincere attachment,

Your Imperial and Royal Majesty's Brother,  
*Aranjuez, March 18th, 1808.* CHARLES

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No. XXII.

See Page 146.

ROYAL DECREE.

As my constant infirmities no longer permit me to support the important weight of the government of my kingdom, and require for the re-establishment of my health, the advantages of a milder climate, and private life, I have resolved, after the most mature deliberation, to abdicate my throne in favour of my heir, my well-beloved son, the Prince of Asturias.

My royal will therefore is, that he be acknowledged and obeyed as king and natural lord of all my kingdoms and sovereignties; and that this royal decree of my free and spontaneous abdication may be exactly and duly accomplished, you will communicate it to the Council, and to all others whom it may concern.

Given at Aranjuez, March 19, 1808.

I, THE KING.

To Don Pedro Cevallos.

## No. XXIII.

See Page 165.

## LETTER OF THE EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH TO FERDINAND.

MY Brother ;—I have received your Royal Highness's letter. In the papers which you have received from the King your father, you will find proofs of the interest which I have always taken in you. Permit me, at the present juncture, to speak to you with sincerity and without disguise. On arriving at Madrid, I hoped to induce my illustrious friend to consent to some necessary reforms in his states, and to give some satisfaction to public opinion. The dismissal of the Prince of the Peace appeared to me to be necessary for his happiness and for that of his people. The affairs of the North delayed my journey. The events of Aranjuez have since taken place. I am not a judge of what has taken place, nor of the conduct of the Prince of the Peace ; but I know very well that it is dangerous for kings to accustom their people to shed blood, and to take justice into their own hands. I pray God your Royal Highness may never make the experiment ! It is not for the interest of Spain to injure a Prince who has espoused a Princess of the blood-royal, and who has governed the kingdom for so long a time. He has no longer friends : your Royal Highness will also want them, if ever you are unfortunate. The people readily avenge themselves for the homage which they pay to us. Besides, how would it be possible to try the Prince of the Peace, without at the same time implicating the Queen, and the King your father ? Such a trial would nourish hatred, and factious passions : the result would be fatal to your crown. Your Royal Highness has no rights but those which are transmitted to you by your mother. If the process dishonour her, your own rights suffer :—shut your ears to weak and perfidious counsels. You have no right to try the Prince of the Peace ; the crimes with which he is reproached are lost in the rights of the throne. I have often shown a wish that he should be removed from affairs. My

friendship for King Charles has often led me to disguise my sentiments, and to shut my eyes on his weak attachment. Miserable men that we are ! weakness and error are our mottos. But we may still arrange all this : let the Prince of the Peace be exiled from Spain, and I will offer him an asylum in France. As to the abdication of Charles IV., it has occurred at a time when my armies are spread over Spain ; and in the eyes of Europe, and of posterity, it will appear as if I had sent my troops thither for no other purpose than to precipitate from the throne my ally and my friend. As a neighbouring sovereign, I am justified in becoming acquainted with the circumstances of this abdication, before I acknowledge it. I declare to your Royal Highness, to Spain, and to the whole world, that if the abdication of King Charles is voluntary, if he has not been forced to it by the insurrection and the riot at Aranjuez, I shall make no difficulty in admitting it, and in acknowledging your Royal Highness as King of Spain. I wish then to converse with you on this subject. The caution which I have observed for this month past, in these matters, should serve as a guarantee to you for the support you will receive from me, if factions, of whatever nature, should hereafter disturb you on your throne.

When King Charles acquainted me with the events of the month of October last, I was painfully affected by them, and I think I contributed by my suggestions to the happy termination of the affair of the Escorial. Your Royal Highness was certainly in the wrong : I require no other proof of it, than the letter which you wrote to me, and which it is my constant wish to forget. When you become King in your turn, you will know how sacred are the rights of the throne. Every communication made to a foreign sovereign from the heir to the throne is criminal. The marriage of a French Princess with your Royal Highness is in accordance with the interests of my people, and would connect me, by additional ties, with a House, which, since my accession to the throne, has only afforded me reasons of satisfaction. Your Royal Highness should distrust popular sallies and explosions.



Some murders may be committed on my straggling soldiers, but the ruin of Spain will be the consequence. I have already seen with pain, that letters of the Captain-general of Catalonia have been circulated at Madrid, and that every thing has been done to inflame the public feeling. I have now opened to your Royal Highness my whole mind, and you may perceive that I am hesitating between conflicting ideas, which require to be fixed.

You may rest assured, that in any case I shall act towards you as towards the king your father. Believe in my wish for conciliation, and for finding opportunities for giving you proofs of my affection and perfect esteem.

I pray God, my brother, that he may have you in his holy and worthy keeping.

*Bayonne, April 16, 1808.*

NAPOLÉON.

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No. XXIV.

See Page 165.

ALMOST all who gave proofs of their fidelity and clearheadedness at this difficult crisis, were proscribed after the old dynasty was restored to the throne, in consequence of the overthrow of the French power. The pretence for this iniquitous treatment was their submission to Joseph Bonaparte, as if Ferdinand and his advisers had not given both the precept and the example of this. The Chevalier Don Mariano-Luis Urquijo, died at Paris, in 1817; his last prayers were for the liberty and happiness of his countrymen. We shall here transcribe a letter which he wrote on the 13th of April, from Vittoria, after he had seen the new court on its passage through. It contains the most complete exposition of the motives that ought to have deterred Ferdinand from proceeding to Bayonne. This letter was addressed to Don Gregorio de la Cuesta, Captain-general of Old Castile, one of those who subsequently defended the cause of Spanish independence. Two men, united

by the ties of friendship, and equally distinguished for their noble sentiments, were led to act under different banners, and served their country by different means, each in the line of duty which they had traced out to themselves.

"My dear friend—I received yesterday, at noon, the letter dated the 11th, which you sent me by express. I immediately mounted my horse, and arrived in this city at half-past three in the afternoon. Our friend Mazaredo was unable to accompany me, being confined to his bed by a violent attack of the gout: the circumstance was so far fortunate for him, as it spared him a useless journey and the pain of witnessing a most disagreeable scene. You told me in your letter that I should be well received, from the expressions you understood King Ferdinand and his suite had made use of in regard to me, and that you had no doubt but that my persuasions and the information they had procured would make them halt, and prosecute no farther a journey so dangerous.

"As to the first point, your anticipation was quite correct, nor could I have any doubt of it myself, since the King, when he was scarcely seated on the throne, had spontaneously declared his sense of the injustice and arbitrary nature of the persecution I had endured through this same Cevallos, who was one of the ministers that had signed all the orders directed against me with that view, during the last seven years. On my arrival I was immediately presented to His Majesty, who had not been in the city more than half an hour; he treated me with the greatest kindness and distinction, and invited me to dine with him. His attendants, also, behaved to me with the greatest politeness, particularly the Dukes of San Carlos, and Infanzado. I had also the pleasure of again meeting my friends Murquiz and Labrador.

"The second part is the most distressing. I believe they are all blind, and driving on headlong to their ruin. I explained to them the manner in which the *Moniteur* (which they did not appear to have read attentively) related the disturbance at Aranjuez, which led to the abdication of Charles IV. ; I showed

them that the language of these journals was only the explanation of the Emperor's intentions; I reminded them of the proclamation addressed to the Spaniards in 1805, because, ever since that time, I had always believed that Napoleon meditated the extinction of the reigning dynasty in Spain, as its existence absolutely prevented the elevation of his own; that this plan had only been suspended till a favourable opportunity should offer, and that the unhappy differences between the father and son, which had taken place at the Escorial, now presented the desired pretext; that the Emperor's plans were clearly to be seen by the manner in which he had filled Spain with troops, and taken possession of the fortresses, the arsenals, and the metropolis; that in this very city of Vittoria, the King and all his attendants were in a manner imprisoned, and guarded under the eye of General Savary, and that the arrangements which I had remarked, since I entered the town, for placing the troops, and the situation of the barracks, all strengthened my suspicions.

"After all this, I asked them what was the object of their journey; how the sovereign of a monarchy like that of Spain and the Indies could thus publicly degrade his dignity; how he could thus be led into a foreign kingdom, without invitation, without any preparations, without any of the etiquette which in such cases ought to be observed, and without having been recognized as King, as he was constantly styled Prince of Asturias; that they should have recollected the Isle of Pheasants in the Pyrenees, where so many precautions were taken for the interview which was to take place between the Sovereigns of Spain and France; that there had been an equal number of troops on both sides of the Bidassoa, that even the harness was weighed, in order to remove every cause of apprehension, &c.

"To all this, my dear friend, the only answer which I received, was that they were going to satisfy the ambition of the Emperor by some territorial cessions, and some commercial privileges. On hearing this answer, I could not refrain from saying, 'You may give him the whole of Spain.'



"Some of them talked about eternal war between the two nations, of building two impregnable fortresses in each of the two Pyrenees, of having constantly an army of 150,000 men on foot: in short, of a thousand other chimeras. I merely remarked, that on the side of the Western Pyrenees there was no stronger place than Pampeluna, which in the opinion of the most experienced generals (among others, my friend General Urrutia, whom I had myself heard say so,) was not calculated to offer a strong resistance; that we had not 150,000 men; that a great part of the army had been sent to the North, under cover of the treaty of alliance; that armies were not to be raised, nor fortresses constructed in a day; that the idea of perpetual war was mere raving, for nations had their natural relations, and those between France and Spain were particularly close and intimate; that we must not confound the latter, in states, with men placed for the moment at the head, and especially when it was now in contemplation to abolish the Bourbon dynasty in Spain, in imitation of the example of Louis XIV., and establish that of France in its stead; and that they themselves were actually going to invite the Emperor to do it. Infantado, (upon whom I believe my language made the strongest impression,) feeling the force of my remarks, said to me, "Can it be possible that a hero like Napoleon should stain himself with such an action, when the King places himself in his power with such exemplary confidence?" My reply was, "If we read Plutarch, we shall find that all the heroes of Greece and Rome only obtained their renown by raising themselves on thousands of dead bodies; but we forget all that, and read without reflection, looking merely at the results with respect and surprise; that he should recollect the crown that Charles V. had seized, the cruelties he had exercised on sovereigns who had become his prisoners by the fate of war, or through treachery, and that, notwithstanding all that, he was regarded as a hero; that neither ought he to forget that we had acted in a similar manner to the Emperors and Kings of the Indies, and that if we then defended such actions on the score of religion, they might be equally defended now on the score



of policy; that he might apply this to the origin of every dynasty in the universe; that in the ancient Spanish annals were to be found several instances of kings assassinated by usurpers, who subsequently ascended the throne; and that even in centuries nearer to us, we found that committed by the bastard Henry II., and the exclusion of the family of Henry IV.; that both the Austrian and Bourbon dynasties were descended from this incestuous criminal, and that consequently they ought to have no confidence in heroes, nor allow Ferdinand to proceed a step farther towards France.'

"But what motive, at least what apparent motive," said he, 'can justify such conduct as you impute to the Emperor?' I replied, 'that the language of the *Moniteur* clearly showed me that he would not recognize Ferdinand as king; that it said that the abdication of his father was null, having been made in the midst of arms and popular tumult; that, putting aside the case of John I., King of Castile, there were two instances of abdication during the reigns of the Austrian and the Bourbon dynasties,—one made by Charles I. of Spain, (Charles V., Emperor of Germany) and the other made by Philip V.; and that in each of these abdications, they had proceeded with the greatest calmness and most mature deliberation; that even the representatives of the nation had enquired how far the abdication was to extend, in case of the persons who were to reign after them being prevented,—and that for that very reason, Philip V. ascended the throne a second time, after the death of Louis I., in whose favour His Majesty had resigned the crown; finally, that it was to be feared that if the father should protest against his abdication, as effected by violence, and they should continue their journey to Bayonne, neither of them would reign, and the whole Spanish nation would be made miserable.'

"His reply to this was, that 'Europe and France would condemn this conduct, and that Spain, with the assistance of England, might become formidable.' On these three points I remarked to him, that 'Europe was impoverished, destitute of the means of carrying on new wars, and disunited,

because private interests, as well as the ambitious views of each sovereign and each state, had greater weight than the necessity of making great sacrifices to destroy the system adopted by France since her fatal revolution.' As a proof of this, I instanced to him the conduct of the coalition, their ill-concerted plans and defections, and showed that the result of these leagues had been actually to aggrandize France still more; that I saw no other Court but that of Vienna capable of effectually opposing the Emperor's projects, in the event of Spain rising and being assisted by England; but that if Russia, Germany, and the other states of Europe, were opposed to this system, Austria would meet with reverses, and lose a portion of her territory; we should lose the whole of our navy, and Spain would only be a theatre for war between England and France, a war which England would never expose itself to, unless it was to gain something by it, as England was not a power capable of making head against France in a continental war; finally, that the end of the whole would be the conquest, after having produced the desolation, of our country.

"As to the second point, that France would be dissatisfied if the Emperor should act so unjustly, I entered into very diffuse explanations of the character of that nation; that it is always delighted with what is marvellous; that it has no other public spirit but what it derives from the impulse of the government; that on the other hand, the French nation itself would be a great gainer in its commercial interests, if the Sovereigns of the two countries were both of the same family; that if the Emperor confined himself within certain limits of aggrandizement, and consolidated his empire by good moral institutions, France would adore him, would regard him as her deliverer from the terrible revolution into which the nation had been plunged, would bless his dynasty, and look upon it as glorious that several of the thrones of Europe were occupied by members of her Sovereign's family; and that consequently the argument did not do away my suspicions; that besides, we ought never to forget that the Spanish Kings were called



Bourbons, and that they were a branch of the ancient House of France; that a great change had taken place in France in fortunes, by the suppression of the privileged corporations, by confiscations and by sales; for it is quite certain that almost all the French have taken a greater or less part in the revolution; that the latter, along with the literary men, the favourers of reform, the Jews and the Protestants, formed the most numerous part of the nation. They are now freed from the oppression which weighed them down before that period, and it is more than probable that they would not be at all sorry to see the extinction of the Bourbons in Spain, from the apprehension that one of them might hereafter compel the French to receive, in spite of them, a Bourbon Prince, if Spain was well governed.

“On the third point, relative to the arming of our nation, I entered into still longer details. I proved to them, that unfortunately, ever since the time of Charles V. the nation did not exist, because, in point of fact, it had no real representative body nor any community of interests uniting for the same object; that Spain was a Gothic edifice, composed of fragments, with nearly as many forces, privileges, laws, and customs, as there were provinces in the monarchy; that there was no public spirit; that these causes would prevent the formation of a firmly constituted government, combining the necessary strength, activity, and movement; that riots and popular tumults were but of short duration; that all these troubles would produce wonderful effects on our American colonies, because the Creoles were desirous of displaying their strength, and shaking off the yoke which had oppressed them ever since the conquest of their country; that England herself would assist them, in just revenge for the imprudent aid which, in conjunction with France, we had given formerly to her revolted colonies; that we could not forget the attempts made by England at the Caraccas and other provinces of our Americas. Finally, my friend, I said everything to Infantado that could be said, as to the dangerous consequences of the journey, and the probability that it might

produce the total ruin of our nation. I even went farther: I offered, if they would discontinue their journey, to go in the quality of Ambassador to Bayonne, to speak to the Emperor, make arrangements with him, and terminate, in the best manner possible, so unpleasant an affair, so badly commenced and conducted; but that, in the meantime, they might send off the King *incognito*, by one of the houses next to that in which His Majesty was lodged, and convey him to Arragon; that M. Urbina, Alcáide of the city, would facilitate the means for his escape, which, when it reached the ears of Napoleon, and when he knew that the King would be at liberty to act by himself, would compel him to change his plans. But all I could say was useless, entirely useless.

“After this conversation, Don Josef Hervas was introduced to me, and by him I was confirmed in my opinion that the Emperor meditated a change of our dynasty; for he intreated me to do every thing I could to prevent the journey to France. This young man, who has a great deal of cleverness and penetration, has just arrived from Paris along with General Savary. As he is brother-in-law of Duroc, Grand Marshal of the Palace to the Emperor, he is acquainted with all the ramifications of the plot; he related them to me, complaining at the same time of the manner in which he had been treated at Madrid, and that they would not listen to any thing he said. He requested me to obtain him a private audience with the Duke of Infantado; I did so,—he stated what he knew, but without producing the least effect. M. Escoiquiz had gone to bed, in consequence of having caught cold; he was surrounded by such numbers of persons that I could not find an opportunity to speak to him. I know nothing of his sentiments or the influence he possesses. Labrador and Murquiz are piqued because they are treated with apparent contempt, and never consulted in any case, in consequence of the rival influence of M. Cevallos. I am deeply afflicted at seeing the infatuation that possesses them all, and that they are all marching to the brink of the precipice.

“When the dinner was finished, and His Majesty had re-



tired, an aid-de-camp arrived with despatches from the Emperor. The tone in which he announced himself, demanding immediate access to His Majesty ; the condescension shown to him when he was introduced to the King ; the manner in which I saw him dismissed ; and the circumstance of my knowing something of the business in hand ;—all this made my Spanish bile rise. I finally took my leave, reminding them, without effect, of my predictions, and returned to my apartments in order to write to you thus fully, that you might know what passed. To-morrow morning early I set out for Bilbao.

“Don Miguel Alava, an officer of marines, nephew of your acquaintance of the same name, the General of Marines, has just been to pay me a visit. He was waiting for me when I returned, conversing with a friend who had accompanied me from Bilbao : I took the opportunity of telling him, as well as every one else who would listen to me, that if the King left Spain, the Bourbons would be removed from the throne for ever, that all Spain would be in a state of desolation, and that we should have much to weep for. I spoke in the same strain to M. Alava, wishing him to use the influence he might have in the city and the province, in order to try to prevent it ; this is all I could do. Great respect is entertained for me in this province, from the protection I have procured for the inhabitants, and because I was born in it. Perhaps the people will see more clearly, and do more ; perhaps they may tear off the thick veil which covers the eyes of these Spaniards.

“When I took my leave, the Duke of Infantado appeared to me to be hurt, because I could not accompany them, at least as far as Bayonne. I told him I was ready to do anything, if they would follow my advice ; but that otherwise I would neither tarnish nor lose my reputation, which was all that was dear to me. You will be witness of a thousand calamities. I know not who is the one to blame. I pity Spain, and return to my old corner to sit and weep. God grant that all my fears are vain !

“When I know for certain that you are at Valladolid, I will

write to you again, and in the meantime, do me the favor to say every thing that is kind for me to Madame. I am extremely melancholy. You know that I am always

Entirely yours,

*Vittoria, April 13th, 1808.*

UNGUINA

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No. XXV.

See Page 169.

CHARLES IV. wrote a letter to Prince Murat on the 22nd of March, in which he expressed no other wish than to go along with the Queen and the Prince of the Peace, to the country which best agreed with his health. At that time he had not protested, otherwise he would have said so to the Grand-duke. We give a copy of this document, the report of the Adjutant-commandant, Bailli de Monthion, the King's Letter to the Emperor, and the Protestation.

LETTER OF THE KING TO THE GRAND-DUKE OF BERG.

SIR, and very dear Brother;—Having spoken to your Adjutant-commandant, and informed him of all that has passed, I request you to do me the service to communicate to the Emperor my request that he will deliver the poor Prince of the Peace (who suffers entirely because he was the friend of France), and allow us to go with him into the country which will best agree with my health. For the present we go to Badajoz. I hope that you will at least send us an answer, if you cannot see us, previously to our departure; for I have no confidence but in you and the Emperor. Meanwhile, I am your most affectionate brother and hearty friend,

CHARLES.

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REPORT TO HIS IMPERIAL HIGHNESS THE GRAND-DUKE OF BERG,  
LIEUTENANT OF THE EMPEROR, COMMANDER OF HIS ARMIES IN  
SPAIN.

MONSEIGNEUR,

Agreeably to the commands of your Imperial Highness, I re-

paired with the letter of your Highness to the Queen of Etruria, at Aranjuez. It was eight o'clock in the morning; the Queen was still in bed: she rose immediately, and bade me enter. I delivered your letter to her. She begged me to wait a little, and said she would go and read it with the King and Queen. Half an hour afterwards, I saw the Queen of Etruria enter with the King and Queen of Spain.

His Majesty said, he thanked your Imperial Highness for the share you had taken in his affliction, which was the greater as his own son was the author of it. The King said that the revolution had been effected by forgery and corruption, and that the principal actors were his son and M. Caballero, minister of justice; that he had been compelled to abdicate the throne in order to save the lives of himself and his Queen; that he knows that but for this they would have been murdered in the course of the night; that the conduct of the Prince of Asturias was more shocking, seeing that himself (the King) having perceived his desire to reign, and being himself near sixty years of age, had agreed to surrender the crown to him on his marriage taking place with a French Princess, which the King ardently desired.

The King added to this, that the Prince of the Asturias was desirous that he and the Queen should repair to Badajoz, on the frontiers of Portugal; that he had found means to inform him that the climate of that country did not suit him; that he begged him to permit his choosing another place; that he sought to obtain permission of the Emperor to purchase an estate in France, where he might end his days. The Queen told me she had begged of her son to postpone their journey to Badajoz; that she had not procured this, and that the journey was to take place on the ensuing Monday.

At the moment I was departing from their Majesties, the King said to me, "I have written to the Emperor, in whose hands I repose my fate. I wished to send my letter by a courier, but I know no surer mode of sending it than by yours." The King then left me, in order to repair to his cabinet. He



soon returned with the following letters (Nos. 1 and 2) in his hand, which he gave me, and added these words,—“My situation is most deplorable: they have seized the Prince of the Peace, and will put him to death; he has committed no other crime but that of being at all times attached to me:”—He added, that there were no efforts which he would not have attempted to save the life of his unhappy friend, but that he had found the whole world deaf to his entreaties, and bent on vengeance; that the death of the Prince of the Peace would draw after it his own, and that he should not survive him,

*Aranjuez, March 23, 1808.*

B. DE MONTMOR.

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NO. 1.—LETTER FROM KING CHARLES IV. TO THE EMPEROR  
NAPOLEON.

SIR, my Brother:—Your Majesty will assuredly hear with pain, of the events which have taken place at Aranjuez, and their consequences; you will not, without sympathy, see a king who has been compelled to resign his throne, throw himself into the arms of a great monarch his ally, placing every thing in his protection, who alone can fix his happiness, and that of his whole family, and his trusty and beloved subjects. Under the pressure of the moment, and amid the clashing of weapons, and the cries of a rebellious guard, I found that I had to choose between my life and death, and that my death would be followed by that of the Queen. I was compelled to abdicate the throne; but to-day peace is restored, and full of confidence in the generosity and genius of the great man who has at all times declared himself my friend, I have taken my resolution to resign myself into his hands, and await what he shall resolve on my fate, that of my Queen, and of the Prince of the Peace.

I address myself to your Majesty, and protest against the events which took place at Aranjuez, and against my dethronement. I rely with the fullest confidence upon the cordial



friendship of your Majesty, praying that God may have you in his holy keeping.

*Aranjuez, March 25, 1808.*

CARLOS.

No. II. I protest and declare, that my decree of the 19th March, in which I renounce my crown in favour of my son, is a deed to which I was compelled, in order to prevent greater calamities, and spare the blood of my beloved subjects. It is therefore to be considered as of no authority.

(Signed)

I. THE KING.

No. XXVI.

See Page 185.

LETTER OF FERDINAND VII. TO CHARLES IV.

My venerable Father and Lord,

To give your Majesty a proof of my love and my submission, and yielding to the desire which you have several times caused to be signified to me, I renounce my crown in favour of your Majesty, wishing that you may enjoy it for many years.

I recommend to your Majesty the persons who have served me since the 19th of March; I rely on the assurances which you have given me on that head.

I pray God to preserve your Majesty for many long and happy days!

Done at Bayonne, the 6th of May, 1808.

I lay myself at the feet of your Majesty, the humblest of your sons.

FERDINAND.

No. XXVII.

See Page 185.

TREATY BETWEEN THE EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH AND  
CHARLES IV.

Napoleon, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine,

And Charles IV. King of Spain and the Indies, animated by

an equal desire to put an end to the anarchy to which Spain is a prey, and save that brave nation from the agitation of factions; wishing to spare it all the convulsions of civil and of foreign war, and place it, without violence, in the only position which can, in the present extraordinary circumstances, secure its integrity, guarantee its colonies, and enable it to unite all its means with those of France, in order to obtain a maritime peace, have resolved to join all their efforts, and to regulate such important interests in a particular convention. For that purpose they have named, viz. His Majesty the Emperor of the French, &c. the General of Division, Duroc, Grand-Marshal of the Palace; and His Majesty the King of Spain and the Indies. His Serene Highness Don Manuel Godoy, Prince of the Peace, Count of Evoramonte; who, after having exchanged their full powers, have agreed on what follows:—

Art. I. His Majesty King Charles, having only had in view, during his whole life, the happiness of his subjects, and constantly adhering to the principle that all the acts of the sovereign ought to be directed solely to that object, the present circumstances being such as could only prove a source of dissension so much more fatal, as his own family was divided by factions, has resolved to cede, as he does by the present cede, to His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, all his rights to the throne of Spain and the Indies, as the only person who, at the point that matters have arrived, is able to re-establish order. It being understood that the said cession has only taken place, in order that his subjects should enjoy the two following conditions:—

1. The integrity of the kingdom shall be maintained. The Prince whom His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon shall think proper to place upon the throne of Spain, shall be independent, and the boundaries of Spain shall undergo no alteration.

2. The Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion, shall be the only one in Spain. No toleration shall be allowed to any reformed religion, still less to any infidel one, in conformity to the usage established up to the present time.



Art. II. All acts passed against any of our faithful subjects since the revolution of Aranjuez, are null and void, and their properties shall be restored to them.

Art. III. His Majesty King Charles having thus secured the property, the integrity, and the independence of his kingdom, His Majesty the Emperor engages to grant an asylum in his states to King Charles, to the Queen, to his family, to the Prince of the Peace, and such of their servants as may choose to follow them, who shall enjoy in France a rank equivalent to that which they possessed in Spain.

Art. IV. The palace of Compiègne, with the parks and forests attached to it, shall be at the disposal of King Charles during his lifetime.

Art. V. His Majesty the Emperor gives and grants to His Majesty King Charles, a civil list of 30 millions of *reales*, which His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon will cause to be paid to him directly every month, by the treasury of his crown. At the death of King Charles, two millions of revenues shall form the Queen's dowry.

Art. VI. His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon engages to grant to all the Infants of Spain an annual rent of 400,000 francs, to be enjoyed in perpetuity by them and their descendants, with the reversion of the said rent from one branch to another, in case of the extinction of one of them, and according to the civil law. In case of the extinction of all the branches, the said rent shall revert to the crown of France.

Art. VII. His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon shall make such arrangements as he shall judge proper with the future King of Spain, for the payment of the civil list and the rents included in the preceding articles; but His Majesty King Charles understands that he has no connection for this object but with the treasury of France.

Art. VIII. His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon gives in exchange to His Majesty King Charles the castle of Chambord, with the parks, forests, and farms attached to it, to enjoy it in full property, and dispose of it as to him shall seem good.

Art. IX. In consequence, His Majesty King Charles renounces, in favour of His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, all the allodial and particular properties not appertaining to the crown of Spain, but which he possesses personally.

The Infants of Spain shall continue to enjoy the revenues of the commanderies which they possess in Spain.

Art. X. The present convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications of it exchanged within eight days, or sooner if possible.

Done at Bayonne, May 5th, 1808.

Duroc.

THE PRINCE OF THE PEACE.

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No. XXVIII.

See Page 186.

TREATY BETWEEN THE EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH, AND FERDINAND, PRINCE OF ASTURIAS.

His Majesty the Emperor of the French, &c. and His Royal Highness the Prince of Asturias, &c. having differences to regulate, have named as their plenipotentiaries, viz. His Majesty the Emperor, &c. the General of Division, Duroc, Grand-Marshal of the Palace; and His Royal Highness the Prince of Asturias, &c. Don Juan Escoiquiz, Counsellor of State of His Catholic Majesty, &c.; who, after exchanging their full powers, have agreed to the following articles:—

Art. I. His Royal Highness adheres to the cession made by King Charles of his rights to the throne of Spain and the Indies, in favour of His Majesty the Emperor of the French, &c. and renounces, as far as may be necessary, the rights accruing to him as Prince of Asturias to the throne of Spain and the Indies.

Art. II. His Majesty the Emperor grants in France to His Royal Highness the Prince of Asturias, the title of *Royal Highness*, with all the honours and prerogatives enjoyed by the Princes of his blood. The descendants of His Royal Highness



shall inherit the title of Prince and that of *Serene Highness*, and shall always have the same rank in France as the princedignitaries of the empire.

Art. III. His Majesty the Emperor of the French cedes and gives in full property, by these presents, to His Royal Highness the Prince of Asturias, and his descendants, the palace, park, and farms of Navarre, and the woods attached to them, to the extent of 50,000 acres; the whole free from incumbrance, and to enjoy them, in full property, from the date of the signature of the present treaty.

Art. IV. The said property shall pass to the children and heirs of His Royal Highness the Prince of Asturias; failing them, to the children and heirs of the Infant Don Carlos; failing them, to the descendants and heirs of the Infant Don Francisco; and finally, failing them, to the children and heirs of the Infant Don Antonio. The title of Prince shall be conferred by letters patent and particular on the heir to whom this property shall revert.

Art. V. His Majesty the Emperor grants to His Royal Highness an apanage of 400,000 francs annual rent on the treasury of France, payable in equal monthly portions, to be enjoyed by him and his descendants; failing them, this rent shall pass to the Infant Don Carlos and his heirs; and failing them, to the Infant Don Francisco, to his descendants and heirs.

Art. VI. Independently of what is stipulated in the preceding articles, His Majesty the Emperor grants to His Royal Highness a rent of 600,000 francs, equally on the treasury of France, to be enjoyed during his lifetime. Half of this said rent shall revert upon the head of the Princess his spouse, if she survive him.

Art. VII. His Majesty grants and guarantees to the Infants Don Antonio, uncle of His Royal Highness the Prince of Asturias, Don Carlos and Don Francisco, brothers of His Royal Highness:—

1. The title of *Royal Highness*, with all the honours and prerogatives enjoyed by Princes of the Blood; the descen-

dants of their Royal Highnesses shall retain the title of *Prince* and *Serene Highness*, and shall hold the same rank in France as the prince-dignitaries of the empire.

2. The enjoyment of the revenue of all their commanderies in Spain during their lifetime.

3. An apanage of 400,000 francs annual rent, to be enjoyed by them and their heirs in perpetuity; it being understood by His Imperial Majesty, that if the Infants, Don Antonio, Don Carlos, and Don Francisco, shall die without leaving heirs, or if their posterity should be extinct, the said rents shall appertain to His Royal Highness the Prince of Asturias, or to his descendants and heirs; the whole on condition that their Royal Highnesses Don Carlos, Don Antonio, and Don Francisco, adhere to the present treaty.

Art. VIII. The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratification exchanged within eight days, or sooner, if that be possible.

DUROC.

Bayonne, 10th May, 1808.

JUAN DE ESCOQUIZ.

#### No. XXIX.

See Page 186.

PROCLAMATION ADDRESSED BY FERDINAND, PRINCE OF ASTURIAS, HIS BROTHER, THE INFANT DON CARLOS, AND HIS UNCLE, THE INFANT DON ANTONIO, TO THE SPANIARDS.

Don Fernando, Prince of Asturias, and the Infants Don Carlos and Don Antonio, grateful for the love and constant fidelity that all Spaniards have manifested towards them, with the most poignant grief see them in the present day plunged in the greatest confusion, and threatened with the most direful calamities resulting therefrom; and knowing that it arises in the major part of them, from the ignorance they are in of the causes of the conduct which their Royal Highnesses have hitherto observed, and of the plan now chalked out for the greater happi-



ness of their country, they can do no less than endeavour to undeceive them, in order that its execution may suffer no impediment; and at the same time to testify to them the sincere affection they possess for them.

They cannot consequently avoid informing them, that the circumstances under which the Prince, by the abdication of the King his father, assumed the reins of government, the occupation of many provinces of the kingdom, and all the frontier garrisons by a great number of French troops, the presence of more than 60,000 men of the same nation in the metropolis and its neighbourhood, and many other data that other persons could not possess; all conspired to persuade them, that surrounded by such numerous difficulties, they had no other remedy, but to choose among many evils, that which would be least productive of calamity—as such they fixed upon the journey to Bayonne.

On their Royal Highnesses' arrival at Bayonne, the Prince, then King, unexpectedly found that the King his father had protested against his abdication, pretending it had not been voluntary. Not having accepted the crown but in the persuasion that the abdication was voluntary, he had scarcely ascertained the existence of the protest, when through filial respect he restored the crown; and shortly after, the King his father renounced in his name, and in that of all the dynasty, in favour of the Emperor of the French, in order that, looking to the welfare of the nation, he should elect the person and dynasty who are to occupy it hereafter.

In this state of things, their Royal Highnesses, considering the situation they are in, the critical circumstances of Spain, in which all the efforts of its inhabitants in favour of their rights, will not only be useless, but mournful, as they would only cause rivers of blood to flow, and cause the loss at least of a great part of the provinces, and of all the ultramarine possessions; and reflecting, on the other hand, that it would be a most efficacious remedy against so many evils, for each of their Royal Highnesses to adhere by himself separately to the cession of their rights to the throne, already made by the King their

father; reflecting also, that the said Emperor of the French binds himself in that case to preserve the absolute independence and integrity of the Spanish monarchy, and of all its ultramarine possessions, without reserving to himself, or dismembering the least part of its dominions; to maintain the unity of the Catholic religion, property, laws, and usages, which he secures for the future, and on a sound basis; also the power and prosperity of the Spanish nation. Their Royal Highnesses believe they give the greatest proof of their generosity, love, and gratitude for the affection they have experienced, by sacrificing, as much as is in their power, their personal interest for the benefit of the country, adhering as they have done, by a particular agreement, to the cession of their rights to the throne, absolving all Spaniards from their allegiance in that respect, and exhorting them to look to the interest of their country, to remain tranquil, and to expect their happiness from the wise dispositions and power of the Emperor Napoleon; by showing their readiness to conform thereto, they will give the Prince and the two Infants the greatest testimony of their loyalty, as their Royal Highnesses give them of their paternal love and affection, by giving up all their rights, and forgetting their own interests to make them happy, which is the sole object of their wishes.

I, THE PRINCE.

CARLOS.

ANTONIO.

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No. XXX.

See Page 434.

PROCLAMATION OF GENERAL JUNOT.

The Governor of Paris, first Aid-de-camp of His Majesty the Emperor and King, Commander-in-chief.

Portuguese!

After six months tranquillity, the peace of the kingdom appears again likely to be disturbed by the constantly increasing



effervescence of the Spanish troops, which entered your country for the sole purpose of dismembering it. When I declared on the 1st of February, in the name of the Emperor, that I took possession of the government of the whole of Portugal, the Spaniards began to be dissatisfied with me. The events in Spain, the insurrection of several provinces, have induced different corps of the Spanish troops to desert. Then commenced the provocations and quarrels with my soldiers. Calculating upon the good dispositions of the inhabitants of Oporto, I had only left in that province some Spanish troops, and sent thither a General of Division to command them, and some officers for the service of the fortresses. That General, the Corregidor Mor, a Colonel of Artillery, and some other civil and military officers, have been seized by Bellesta. This infamous general allowed his soldiers to insult him. He has quitted Portugal with the troops which had been entrusted to him to defend the country; he will not return to it. The same spirit which directed the movement at Oporto, had been communicated to the Spanish troops cantoned at Lisbon, Setubal, and the environs. Tranquillity was about to be disturbed, I was on the point of being reduced to defend myself against the troops which made part of my army; I have disarmed them. The Spaniards settled in Portugal need be under no dread of reprisals, for the atrocities committed at Badajoz, and Ciudad Rodrigo, on some unfortunate Frenchmen, who had been settled there for more than fifty years. Portuguese! I am satisfied with your good dispositions—continue to repose confidence in me; I give you my word that I will preserve your country from all invasion, from all dismemberment. If the English should come, we will defend you. Some of your battalions of militia, and the regiments which remain in Portugal, will form part of my army to defend your frontiers; they will be instructed in the art of war, and if I am so fortunate as to be able to put in practice the lessons which I have received from Napoleon, I will teach you to conquer.

Given at the Palace of the Head-Quarters at Lisbon, the  
11th of June, 1808.

JUNOT.

The Governor of Paris, first Aid-de-camp of His Majesty the Emperor and King, Commander-in-chief.

Soldiers!

The infamous conduct of the Spanish General Bellesta, the revolt of the regiment of Chasseurs of Valencia, and of the regiment of Murcia, the imprisonment of several of my officers at Ciudad Rodrigo, and Badajoz, and the impossibility of the Spanish officers keeping their troops in subordination, have compelled me to disarm them. This measure has been effected without the effusion of blood. We are not the enemies of the Spanish soldiers whom we have disarmed. Necessity alone compelled me to adopt a measure at which my heart revolted.

The men will retain their colours, and the officers their swords; they will receive pay and provisions, as formerly. I will look upon them with the same eye as before.

Soldiers! You have done your duty. If the English make their appearance, they will find us ready to combat them.

Given at the Palace of the Head-Quarters at Lisbon, the 11th, of June.

JUNOT.


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No. XXXI.

See Page 534.

DEFINITIVE CONVENTION BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH  
ARMIES FOR THE EVACUATION OF PORTUGAL BY THE FRENCH  
ARMY.

THE Generals commanding in chief the British and French armies in Portugal, having determined to negotiate and conclude a treaty for the evacuation of Portugal by the French troops, on the basis of the agreement entered into on the 22nd instant, for a suspension of hostilities, have appointed the undermentioned officers to negotiate the same in their names, viz.—On the part of the General-in-chief of the British army, Lieutenant-colonel Murray, Quarter-master-general, and on the part of the General-in-chief of the French army, M. Kellermann,



General of Division; to whom they have given authority to negotiate and conclude a convention to that effect, subject to their ratification respectively, and to that of the Admiral commanding the British fleet at the entrance of the Tagus. Those two officers, after exchanging their full powers, have agreed upon the articles that follow:—

Art. I. All the places and forts in the kingdom of Portugal occupied by the French troops shall be delivered up to the British army in the state in which they are at the period of the signature of the present convention.

Art. II. The French troops shall evacuate Portugal with their arms and baggage; they shall not be considered as prisoners of war, and on their arrival in France, they shall be at liberty to serve.

Art. III. The English government shall furnish the means of conveyance for the French army, which shall be disembarked in any of the ports of France, between Rochfort and L'Orient, inclusively.

Art. IV. The French army shall carry with it all its artillery of French calibre, with the horses belonging to it, and the tumbrils supplied with sixty rounds per gun. All other artillery, arms, and ammunition, as also the military and naval arsenals, shall be given up to the British army and navy, in the state in which they may be at the period of the ratification of the convention.

Art. V. The French army shall carry with it all its equipments, and all that is comprehended under the name of property of the army; that is to say its military chest, and carriages attached to the field commissariat and field hospitals; or shall be allowed to dispose of such part of the same on its account as the Commander-in-chief may judge it unnecessary to embark. In like manner, all individuals of the army shall be at liberty to dispose of their private property of every description, with full security hereafter for the purchasers.

Art. VI. The cavalry are to embark their horses, as also the generals and other officers of all ranks. It is, however,

fully understood, that the means of conveyance for horses at the disposal of the British Commanders, are very limited; some additional conveyance may be procured in the port of Lisbon; the number of horses to be embarked by the troops shall not exceed six hundred; and the number embarked by the staff shall not exceed two hundred. At all events, every facility will be given to the French army to dispose of the horses belonging to it which cannot be embarked.

Art. VII. In order to facilitate the embarkation, it shall take place in three divisions, the last of which will be principally composed of the garrisons of the places, the cavalry, the artillery, the sick, and the equipment of the army. The first division shall embark within seven days of the date of the ratification, or sooner, if possible.

Art. VIII. The garrisons of Elvas, and its forts, and of Peniche and Palmela, will be embarked at Lisbon; that of Almeida at Oporto, or the nearest harbour. They will be accompanied on their march by British commissaries, charged with providing for their subsistence and accommodation.

Art. IX. All the sick and wounded who cannot be embarked with the troops are entrusted to the British army. They are to be taken care of whilst they remain in this country, at the expense of the British government, under the condition of the same being reimbursed by France when the final evacuation is effected. The English government will provide for their return to France, which shall take place by detachments of about one hundred and fifty or two hundred men at a time. A sufficient number of French medical officers shall be left behind to attend them.

Art. X. As soon as the vessels employed to carry the army to France shall have disembarked in the harbours specified, or in any other of the ports of France to which stress of weather may force them, every facility shall be given them to return to England without delay, and security against capture until their arrival in a friendly port.

Art. XI. The French army shall be concentrated in Lisbon,



and within a distance of about two leagues from it. The English army will approach within three leagues of the capital, and be so placed as to leave about one league between the two armies.

Art. XII. The forts of St. Julien, the Bugio, and Cascaes, shall be occupied by the British troops on the ratification of the convention. Lisbon and its citadel, together with the forts and batteries, as far as the lazaretto or Trafuria on one side, and Fort St. Joseph on the other, inclusively, shall be given up on the embarkation of the second division, as shall also the harbour, and all armed vessels in it of every description, with their rigging, sails, stores, and ammunition. The fortresses of Elvas, Almeida, Peniche, and Palmela, shall be given up as soon as the British troops can arrive to occupy them. In the meantime the General-in-chief of the British army will give notice of the present convention to the garrisons of those places, as also to the troops before them, in order to put a stop to all further hostilities.

Art. XIII. Commissaries shall be named on both sides, to regulate and accelerate the execution of the arrangements agreed upon.

Art. XIV. Should there arise doubts as to the meaning of any article, it will be explained favourably to the French army.

Art. XV. From the date of the ratification of the present convention, all arrears of contributions, requisitions, or claims whatever, of the French government, against subjects of Portugal, or any other individuals residing in this country, founded on the occupation of Portugal by the French troops in December 1807, which may not have been paid up, are cancelled; and all sequestrations laid upon their property, moveable or immoveable, are removed, and the free disposal of the same is restored to the proper owners.

Art. XVI. All subjects of France, or of powers in friendship or alliance with France, domiciliated in Portugal, or accidentally in this country, shall be protected: their property of


every kind, moveable and immoveable, shall be respected ; they shall be at liberty either to accompany the French army, or to remain in Portugal. In either case their property is guaranteed to them, with the liberty of retaining or of disposing of it, and passing the produce of the sale thereof into France, or any other country where they may fix their residence, the space of one year being allowed them for that purpose. It is fully understood that shipping is excepted from this arrangement, only, however, in so far as regards leaving the port ; and that none of the stipulations above-mentioned can be made the pretext of any commercial speculation.

Art. XVII. No native of Portugal shall be rendered accountable for his political conduct during the period of the occupation of this country by the French army ; and all those who have continued in the exercise of their employments, or have accepted situations under the French government, are placed under the protection of the British commanders ; they shall sustain no injury in their persons or property, it not having been at their option to be obedient or not to the French government ; they are also at liberty to avail themselves of the stipulations of the 16th article.

Art. XVIII. The Spanish troops detained on board ship in the port of Lisbon shall be given up to the Commander-in-chief of the British army, who engages to obtain of the Spaniards to restore such French subjects, either military or civil, as may have been detained in Spain, without being taken in battle, or in consequence of military operations, but on occasion of the occurrences of the 29th of last May, and the days immediately following.

Art. XIX. There shall be an immediate exchange established for all ranks of prisoners made in Portugal, since the commencement of the present hostilities.

Art. XX. Hostages of the rank of field-officers shall be mutually furnished on the part of the British army and navy, and on that of the French army, for the reciprocal guarantee of the present convention. The officers of the British army



shall be restored on the completion of the articles which concern the army; and the officers of the navy on the disembarkation of the French troops in their own country. The like is to take place on the part of the French army.

Art. XXI. It shall be allowed to the General-in-chief of the French army to send an officer to France with intelligence of the present convention. A vessel will be furnished by the British admiral to convey him to Bourdeaux or Rochefort.

Art. XXII. The British admiral will be invited to accommodate his Excellency the Commander-in-chief, and the other principal officers of the French army, on board ships of war.

Done and concluded at Lisbon, this 30th day of August, 1808.

(Signed)

GEORGE MURRAY, Quar.-mas.-gen.

KELLERMANN, le Gén. de Division.

Nous Duc d'Abrantes, Général en chef de l'armée Française, avons ratifié et ratifions la présente convention définitive dans tous ses articles, pour être exécutée selon sa forme et teneur.

(Signed)

LE DUC D'ABRANTES.

Au quartier général de Lisbonne, le 30 Août, 1808.

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*Additional Articles to the Convention of the 30th August, 1808.*

Art. I. The individuals in the civil employment of the army made prisoners, either by the British troops, or by the Portuguese in any part of Portugal, will be restored, as is customary, without exchange.

Art. II. The French army shall be subsisted from its own magazines up to the day of embarkation; the garrisons up to the day of the evacuation of the fortresses. The remainder of the magazines shall be delivered over in the usual form to the British government, which charges itself with the subsistence of the men and horses of the army from the above-mentioned periods till their arrival in France, under the condition of their being reimbursed by the French government for the excess of the expenses beyond the estimation, to be made by both parties.

of the value of the magazines delivered up to the British army. The provisions on board the ships of war, in possession of the French army, will be taken on account by the British government, in like manner with the magazines in the fortresses,

Art. III. The General commanding the British troops will take the necessary measures for re-establishing the free circulation of the means of subsistence between the country and the capital.

Done and concluded at Lisbon, this 30th day of August, 1808.

(Signed)

GEORGE MURRAY, Quar.-mas.-gen.

KELLERMANN, le Gen. de division.

Nous Duc d'Abrantes, Général en chef de l'armée Française, avons ratifié et ratifions les articles additionels à la convention et contre, pour être exécutés suivant leur forme et teneur.

LE DUC D'ABRANTES.

A. J. DALRYMPLE, cap. milit, sec.



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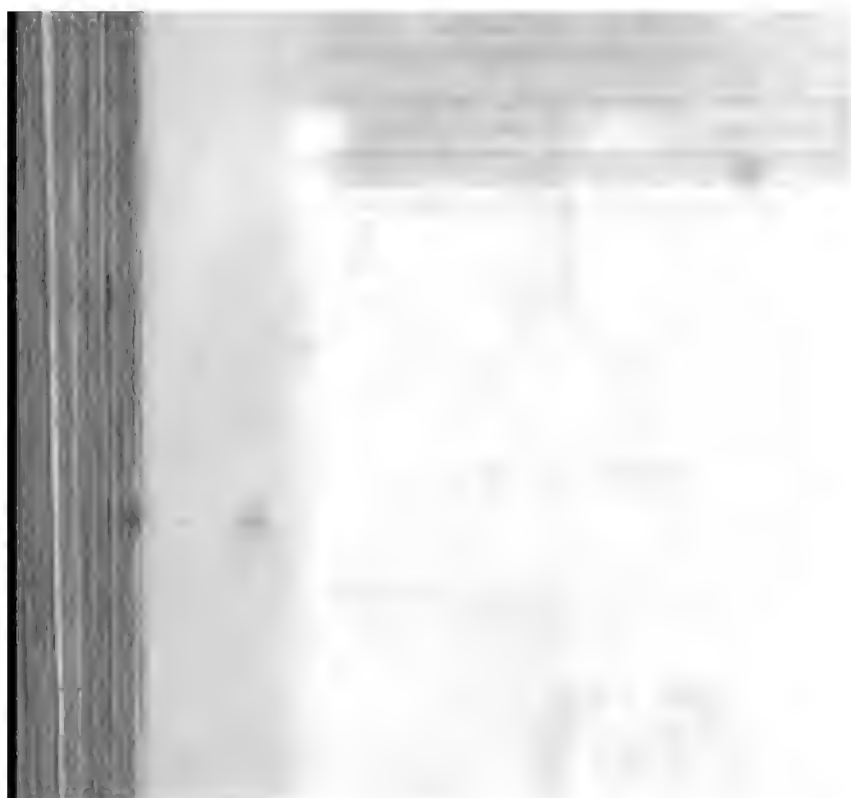
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London:

PRINTED BY S. AND R. BENTLEY,  
Dorset-street.











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